

Journal of English and Foreign Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music and the Drama.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1870.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1870.

LITERATURE

Help for Sick and Wounded; being a Translation of 'La Guerre et la Charité,' Ouvrage couronné par le Comité Central Prussien de Secours pour les Militaires blessés. By MM. Moynier and Appia. Translated by John Furley. Together with other Writings on the Subject by Officers of Her Majesty's Service. (Hotten.)

Christian Work on the Battle-field; being Incidents of the Labours of the United States 'Christian Commission.' With an Historical Essay on the Influence of Christianity in Alleviating the Horrors of War. (Hodder & Stoughton.)

The Chaplain in the Field; being the Experiences of the Clerical Staff during the Prussian Campaign of 1866. Condensed from the Official Report of the Rev. B. Rogge, Chaplain to the Prussian Court. By George Gladstone. (Bell & Daldy.)

MR. FURLEY has done timely work by translating the book which stands first at the head of this notice. The original is the result of a prize offered by the "Comité Central Prussien de Secours pour les Militaires blessés," for the best treatise on the subject which occupies their philanthropic attention. To our shame it must be recorded, that though an independent society is now performing great and noble deeds in the cause of relief to the sick and wounded Germans and Frenchmen, yet that no formal union with the brotherhood of charity inaugurated by the Geneva Convention has been sought by England. Insular reserve, and national tendency to meet all the requirements of war only when war is actually raging, and a fear that the philanthropy of the Geneva Convention was somewhat theoretical, are no doubt the causes. We regret that any causes should have prevented a country which is truly benevolent and generous from an adhesion to a society which substantially takes as its motto, "Secourir to all suffering soldiers." The fact of large national societies working together in the field of mercy, while their Governments are strewing that field with objects of compassion, cannot but increase universal Christian brotherhood; and what may be styled the Cosmopolitan Society for the relief of suffering after battle merits the support of all who profess Christian principles. All honour to Col. Loyd Lindsay, who with many other noble-minded men have striven, and with a certain amount of success, to extemporize a society which, although national in its want of co-operation with other nations, is thoroughly international in its operations. For the time at least, the reproach of England has been taken away; and when peace gives leisure, we trust that the blemish on our fame may be permanently removed.

MM. Moynier and Appia with great judgment commence by proving that volunteer help is required, not as a substitute for, but as a supplement to official exertions. Without noticing the extracts relating to the wars of Napoleon, we will content ourselves with giving an extract or two relating to those campaigns which have taken place within the last sixteen years.—

"In his report to Marshal Pélissier, dated the 15th of March, 1856, l'Inspecteur Baudens wrote:

—'It has not been possible to place our ambulances upon a good system. . . . Blankets are numerous, but nearly all of them are contaminated; sheets are wanting, as well as the means for washing them. Many of the patients are obliged to sleep in their trousers. Our field hospitals are in need of cots, utensils, jugs, spittoons, &c. . . . Still more so of slippers and hospital clothing.' Surgical necessities were also but very indifferently provided. 'Tents, the only form of shelter afforded us,' said Dr. Scrive, *Médecin en chef* of the French army, 'did not suffice to protect the unfortunate patients from the intense cold, and their toes were in consequence frost-bitten, almost without their being aware of it, and sometimes mortification of the whole foot ensued. It was a sad sight, but, in the absence of everything, what preventive remedy was it possible to find for these evils? We could only offer moral aid.'"

With regard to surgical attendance the following passage will be read with interest, referring as it does to an army which till the last few weeks has been thought the best model in the way of administration which we could follow. The extract is from a Report of Dr. Scrive, of the French service:—

"Again, on the 25th of August, 1855, he wrote, 'The want of more medical assistance is severely felt. Eighty surgeons are not sufficient in the midst of a campaign to attend to the wants of sixteen ambulances; and this is the total number of the staff at my disposal. One would readily die at one's post: but what advantage would this be? Forty additional surgeons (not one less) are necessary to place me in a position to meet all eventualities.'"

Again, with respect to a corps of regular hospital nurses and dressers, without which the labours of the surgeons are of but little avail, the same authority writes:—

"The Crimean war proved the impossibility of insuring the exact execution of the accessory directions of the medical body, such as keeping the medical records and changing simple dressings.—'The constant insufficiency of the medical staff compelled each surgeon-in-charge to visit more than one hundred men suffering from wounds or fever; and frequently, as there was no one near to assist, he was obliged at the same time to enter his own prescriptions, and to proceed at once to the strict application of them.'—'The hospital staff could be doubled, or even tripled, to the great advantage of the army.'"

It is needless to refer to the English army, whose hospital arrangements, though somewhat improved since 1854, are quite unsuited for any sudden and active campaign, as is well known to all who have studied the subject. It suffices to say that the British system is simply a peace system, incapable of prompt expansion in case of war.

In discussing the question how far the State is bound and able to supply all the aid required by the sick and wounded of her armies, the author does not hesitate to assert that official completeness cannot, from the very nature of things, be expected. He does full justice to the devotion of military surgeons, but says—

"If, notwithstanding so many energetic and generous efforts, there is still much suffering for which there is no sufficient relief, must we not admit that the medical staff has found itself in the presence of obstacles which its own powers have been quite unable to surmount, and that the very nature of human affairs imposes limits to the beneficent activity of constituted authority? Everybody will not confess, yet no person will deny, that which authorizes us to conclude the affirmative, and to accept the opinion of those who think that a State, even the most vigilant, is incapable of satisfying all its exigencies."

For our own part, we consider that the

raison d'être of the society is sufficiently established, if it be proved that official efforts do not actually suffice for all the demands made upon them by the sick and wounded, without considering whether they ought nor ought not so to suffice. Till they do suffice, a supplementing benevolent society is a distinct blessing to humanity. The author, however, arrives at a practical conclusion, in these words:—

"Let us not fear, then, to proclaim that which we believe we have established by convincing proofs; 1stly, that the State is under an obligation to relieve the victims of war as much and as well as it is able; 2ndly, that it is its duty to allow others to do that which it is not able to do by itself, and that there is plenty of room for supplementary work."

The history of military medical aid to sick and wounded from early times is given in a few interesting pages, but we cannot here stop to make any quotations from them, but hasten on to the more practical portion of the book.

Volunteer aid dates back further than many would imagine. In the Middle Ages, the Knights Hospitallers and several monastic and semi-monastic orders did good service, but the first instance of extensive and purely secular volunteer aid is afforded by the Frauenverein of Frankfort, in 1813. A long continuance of almost uninterrupted peace gave no scope for volunteer aid till the petty war of the Sonderbund, in 1847, when a *société de secours* was formed at Zurich, and did good service. The labours of Miss Nightingale and her assistants in the Crimean war are too well known to require more than allusion, but many may be ignorant that the Protestants of France at the same time sent out a body of almoners whose mission was mainly religious, "nevertheless, on many occasions it associated benefits to the body with consolation for the soul." Neither were the Russians behindhand in the good work, for we learn that several charitable societies, at the head of one of which was the Grand-Duchess Helena Paulowna, were established for the succour of the sick and wounded. In the Italian Campaign of 1859, several charitable committees both in Austria and Italy were formed, and tended greatly to mitigate the horrors of that brief but bloody campaign. The next instance of volunteer aid was afforded by America in the great civil war which commenced in 1861. Everything in America matches with the vastness of her possessions, and the American mind has an innate tendency to the large scale. In this case it was benevolence which assumed dimensions which almost rivalled those of the gigantic contest, with the necessary evils of which it was to wage silent, unostentatious, but efficacious war.

We shall, however, dilate on this episode in the history of volunteer aid, when we notice the book which is second on our list. The last stage of what we may term unsystematized volunteer aid in a campaign was attained in the Schleswig-Holstein war, in which the exertions of various German societies were very great and creditable. Nor were the hapless Danes behindhand in the works of charity, but did the little their limited means allowed to soothe and succour those who had bled in the quarrel so wantonly fastened on them. A short time previously the Genevan Conference was held, and set itself seriously to work to systematize and give both permanency and consistency to the spasmodic and extemporized

efforts which had hitherto been made by small isolated bodies, comparatively few in number. The originator of the Conference was a M. Henri Dunant, who had been profoundly impressed by the horrors which he witnessed after the battle of Solferino.

His first step was to publish an account of his experiences, in a work entitled 'Un Souvenir de Solferino.' The Société Genevoise d'Utilité Publique was, in common with the rest of Europe, so much struck with the disclosures thus made, that on M. Dunant's proposal in February 1863, it discussed the question "whether means might not be found to form, during a time of peace and tranquillity, relief societies, whose aim should be to help the wounded in time of war, by means of volunteers, zealous, devoted, and well qualified for such a work." After this an international conference was invited to assemble at Geneva on the 26th of October of the same year, to discuss the advisability of the proposed measure, and to draw up a scheme for carrying it out. At this conference fourteen governments, including those of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Italy, and Russia, were represented by their delegates, and propositions were drawn up. These are too well known to need mention here: it will suffice to say, that within a few months fifteen States expressed their willingness to accept these propositions as part of an international code. The Swiss Federal Council summoned a congress to complete an international convention.

This congress was held at Geneva, on the 8th of August, 1864, and out of the delegates of sixteen States who were present, twelve signed the convention at once. Since then all the civilized States in the world have given in their adhesion to it, except the United States. In 1867, an international conference was held at Paris, for still further developing and carrying out in a practical manner the principles of the Geneva Conference, and another at Berlin in 1869 with the same object: one notable feature of these two conferences was the extension of the principles accepted for land to naval warfare.

In the perusal of the chapters which in the interesting book before us are devoted to the practical application of the various clauses of the conventions, we are much impressed by the tact, moderation, and singleness of purpose displayed by the author. He has but one object, namely, the benefit of those who suffer from the inevitable calamities of war, and this object he keeps steadily in view throughout. Neither combativeness nor spasmodic Utopian enthusiasm is manifested, and as long as the required aid is given, he shows no sensitiveness about the amount of credit to be ascribed to volunteers. One of the most delicate points in the whole affair, is the relation of the society to the Governments, the commanders-in-chief, and the military medical authorities. This branch of the subject is dealt with in a most temperate and practical manner; the upshot of the author's recommendations being, that its members should act as auxiliaries merely and under the general control of the military medical officials, affording but not intruding aid. The question of discipline is also a difficulty. The author thus disposes of it:—

"But will the volunteers accommodate themselves to this régime? It is worth the trouble to ask the question, for, evidently, in making the con-

ditions too strict, they would be prevented from enrolling themselves. Is it thought that they would have any objection to be placed under military authority? It is not probable. By the very act of placing themselves at the disposal of a committee, they abdicate their independence, and from that time it ought to be almost a matter of indifference to them whether orders come to them from the one side or the other. What is more to be feared is, lest their dignity as volunteers should be sometimes shocked by the imperious tone of command: here, we cannot deny, there may be a difficulty, but we also believe that, in fact, they will be treated with more consideration than the servants of the State, and that their character will make them respected. The doctors, in particular, will have little dread of being treated in too military a manner. At all events, the volunteers who might have some complaint, or some demand to make, will always have recourse to their natural superior, the delegate of the committee attached to head-quarters, and he will investigate their troubles, and, if necessary, intervene with the proper authority, and smooth away the difficulties. Moreover, there will necessarily be a fundamental difference between the volunteers and the soldiers, in this respect, that the former will only be controlled by the code of honour, whilst the latter will be subject to the penal code."

We might pile interesting quotation on interesting quotation, but want of space forbids us to do so. We shall therefore conclude our notice of this eminently practical book with the following extract:—

"Then, again, some persons have appeared to dread that, under the appearance of charitable helpers, spies might slip into the midst of an army. But we have already replied to this, that the moment would be badly chosen to act as a spy between two armies which are fighting, a time when even the officers commanding find it difficult to know what is passing: and we may add, that there are no reasons why the presence of false friends should be more frequent amongst the volunteers than in the army itself, especially if the recruiting of the former be surrounded by the precautions we have suggested."

However valuable material assistance may be to the sufferers in a campaign, and however necessary in many cases to give it the preference in order of administration, no one can deny that without being supplemented by religious aid, it would be incomplete. This fact is indeed most thoroughly recognized by the author of the work we have just reviewed. 'Christian Work on the Battle Field,' and 'The Chaplain in the Field' of War, may therefore with great propriety be noticed along with 'Help for Sick and Wounded.' 'Christian Work' is a narrative of the experiences and labours of the United States Christian Commission during the great American civil war. The object of this noble body was to combine religious with material aid, knowing well how much the former opens the door for the latter. In the pages treating of humanity in war, two passages occur which we cannot refrain from extracting. The first relates to the warrior whose great reputation, which, now that the overshadowing effect of the fame of his successful military rival Napoleon is somewhat diminishing, is beginning to receive full recognition, and shows that Moreau was a true Christian, as well as one of the ablest generals of any age:—

"During the war which raged for a long time in the valley of the Danube, it was agreed between the French General Moreau, and the Austrian General Kray, that the wounded should be cared for by both sides, and that after their recovery they should be returned freely to their respective corps."

The second extract displays our own great duke in a more amiable and humane light than that in which he has generally been viewed:—

"As further indicating the growing spirit of humanity and discipline, it is stated that in May, 1809, when the French army, by the retreat from Oporto, was forced to leave its wounded, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the English and Portuguese forces, asked the French to send surgeons to take care of their abandoned sick. He granted safe-conducts for the coming and returning of the physicians who were chosen for this purpose."

The Christian work for which the civil war in America opened so vast a field was inaugurated by women, on the very first call to arms issued by the President, but the example was quickly followed by the various Tract and Bible Societies; and at the close of 1861 the Christian Commission was organized. Their delegates were at first regarded with suspicion, and met with contemptuous indifference or downright rebuffs. A most amusing account of the interview of the delegates with the Medical Director at Fortress Monroe is given, but we have only space for the extract giving the narrator's impressions regarding military officials:—

"Well, gentlemen, what can I do for you?" One of us became spokesman. I did not; I was afraid; I had had enough 'bluffing off' already; from that day to this I have had a wholesome fear of a military man, when sitting in an office, with a quill behind his ear instead of a sword in his hand. I can face him with a sword, but I can't bear him with a quill."

The director ended by testing the sincerity of the delegates by employing them as nurses, with permission to attend to the spiritual wants of their patients, after their material wants had been provided for. The result shall be given in the narrator's own words:—

"We separated and went to our work. A few days after, the same Director sent for us; this time there was deference in his manner, a kinder tone in his voice. He sent us to the three thousand wounded and sick at Yorktown. When we met him two or three weeks afterwards again, we found that the young Christian Commission had conquered a way to his heart."

The immense amount of good, both material and religious, effected by the Commission is simply, and apparently truthfully, narrated in the pages before us. For an account of their labours we must refer our readers to the book itself, which also abounds with countless anecdotes of what is in cant language termed Christian experience. These we have not space to extract, but the following anecdote of the heroism of the Rev. Dr. Eastman, secretary to the American Tract Society, demands more than a brief summary:—

"His horse plunging during the battle, struck him on the knee-pan. His leg swelled and stiffened until the pain became almost unendurable. When he could no longer stand, he gave his horse to a servant, and laid himself down on the ground. He had to take a wounded soldier's place alone that night. As he lay suffering and thinking, he heard a voice: 'O my God!' He thought, Can anybody be swearing in such a place as this? He listened again, and a prayer began; it was from a wounded soldier. How can I get at him? was his first impulse. He tried to draw up his stiffened limb, but he could not rise. He put his arm round a sapling, drew up his sound foot, and tried to extend the other without bending, that he might walk; but he fell back in the effort, jarred through as if he had been stabbed. He then thought, I can roll. And over and over he rolled, in pain and blood, and by dead bodies, until he fell against the

dying man, and there he preached Christ and prayed. At length one of the line officers came up, and said, 'Where's the Chaplain? One of the staff officers is dying.'—'Here he is, here he is,' cried out the sufferer.—'Can you come and see a dying officer?'—'I cannot move. I had to roll myself to this dying man to talk to him.'—'If I detail two men to carry you, can you go?'—'Yes.' They took him gently up and carried him. And that live-long night the two men bore him over the field, and laid him down beside bleeding, dying men, while he preached Christ and prayed. Lying thus on his back, the wounded Chaplain could not even see his audience, but must look always heavenward into the eyes of the peaceful stars,—emblems of God's love, which even that day of blood had not soiled nor made dim."

With the following touching anecdote we must close with regret this necessarily imperfect notice:—

"Two wounded brothers were brought to Savage's Station, and laid at the foot of a tree. When found by a friend, their arms were entwined about each other, and they were trying to administer mutual comfort. They talked of loved ones at home, of their longings to see mother; then of the service in which they had been engaged, and their love of country. They prayed for each other, and for their friends far away, and especially that mother might be comforted. In a little time the younger went up home; the survivor, blind from a shot in the face, knew it not, but he continued to speak encouraging words to him. No response being made, he said in a pleased, gentle way, 'Poor little Rob's asleep.' In a few minutes more he too slept—and awoke with his brother."

The last book on our list is a statement of the experiences of the Prussian Clerical Staff during the campaign of 1866. It commences with an interesting account of the organization of the clerical department of the Prussian army. It seems that the Prussians keep up a double set of chaplains,—one for the Protestants, the other for the Catholics. It is the experiences of the Protestant chaplains only that the book before us chiefly deals with. The chaplains are not regimental or divisional, and the arrangement seems to work well, as it

"at the same time renders them more independent of the colonels of the regiments, and gives them a greater authority and influence both over the officers and men. The Austrians adopt the other system; and one of their priests, in the course of conversation with a Prussian military chaplain, attributed the little respect which was paid to them by the Austrian army to their position as mere regimental officers, in consequence of which those colonels who were not seriously disposed held them in contempt, and the men under them naturally followed the example of their superior."

The Prussian Government are singularly liberal in the matter of field equipment to their chaplains, who receive each a carriage and pair, a riding horse, and two soldiers of the train to look after them; as to the saddle-horse, our author thus expresses himself:—

"It is, moreover, desirable that the chaplain should be in a position to arrive at the rendezvous at the same time as the rest of the staff, which is only possible when he adopts the same means of locomotion as the other officers."

With regard to the apparent luxury of a carriage and pair, he shows that it is indispensable to the due performance of his duties:—

"The carriage of the chaplain, however, has its uses, and they are not a few; and the indulgence of a carriage is justified in a military point of view by the fact that the resting days of the army are just those of greatest activity for the minister, as he must avail himself of them for his spiritual

duties, whatever the day of the week may be. On these occasions he has perhaps to drive to three or four different places, for the purpose of holding public worship with the several brigades of his corps, and these are sometimes encamped at considerable distances from one another. While thus driving about, the carriage forms his study, and furnishes almost the only opportunity of quiet reading and gathering up his thoughts preparatory to the service he is about to conduct. It also carries all the articles required for public worship, which, in the opinion of a Lutheran, are quite indispensable."

As a rule, both officers and men eagerly took advantage of every opportunity of attending divine worship; necessarily during the campaign their attendance was frequently optional. Speaking of voluntary attendance, the author expresses himself in the following pregnant terms:—

"Some of them even felt that it would be a glorious thing if the same freedom could be permitted to the army in time of peace, so that they might feel themselves to be addressing willing hearts, instead of to men compelled to be present by military rules."

Naturally the services were more often than not performed in the open air, and the author thinks with some advantage:—

"The Rev. B. Rogge says—'According to my experience, fields, forests, or meadows are always to be had for public worship, when at least it consisted merely of singing, prayer, and preaching, without the addition of the Lord's Supper, and I preferred them above all other localities. It is good for the soldier to be reminded of his pilgrim and wandering life by such external circumstances. References to the patriarchs and the Old Testament heroes are much more effectually made under God's free heaven than in closed rooms, which are often damp, and much too small to accommodate the number of hearers that may assemble. The very fact of being in the open air enables the preacher to present the events of sacred history, which for the most part took place out of doors, with greater force.'"

The Prussian soldiers seem to have carried religion into daily life much more thoroughly than the Austrians. "The Austrian clergy indeed frequently expressed their astonishment at the religious feeling exhibited by the Prussian troops, confessing at the same time that in the Imperial army there was never the same readiness to join in public worship." The inhabitants of Moravia and Bohemia had evidently not lost the traditions of John Huss:—

"It was quite evident that they knew it only wanted a spark and a bit of tinder to set the whole land of the Hussites in a blaze again. The people, indeed, often debated these questions openly with their clergy; and had the Prussian army remained much longer in Moravia or Bohemia, the Protestant Church would certainly have taken root in the land, without any real attempt on the part of the military chaplains at propagandism."

To their credit be it spoken, the Catholic priests in the Austrian dominions, as a rule, showed great charity of feeling and cordiality towards the Protestant chaplains of the Prussian army, though they might have regarded them as opponents of their faith and enemies of their monarch.

With the following extract, highly creditable to the clerical profession, and calculated above all things to raise the military chaplain in the estimation of the soldiers, we must conclude our notice of this pleasing work:—

"The flank march of the Wrangel brigade upon our right wing had begun; its artillery was in full fire, and the batteries were also about to open upon our left wing, when the colonel of the 13th

regiment, who had, in order to reconnoitre, ridden into the corn-field in front of which the artillery stood, came back and told me that two artillerymen were lying in the corn badly wounded, and that they must be removed at once, in order not to be exposed anew to the fire of the shells. I immediately brought the ambulance corps with two litters, and hurried them into the field where the men were lying. A major of artillery called out to me to make haste, as a battery was about to open just upon the spot. We were still seeking for the wounded men when it was dismounted and began to fire. The enemy answered promptly; and while we hastened off with the wounded soldiers on to the high road behind our battery, right in the line of the enemy's fire, the shells flew whizzing and exploding about us and over our heads. These were indeed anxious moments, as we (in spite of the shells) had to move along quite slowly with our serious charge. I committed my soul to the Lord, and experienced His protecting hand over me."

If any one can peruse, without emotion, the three works whose titles are to be found at the head of this article, we do not envy that person his heart.

The Mystery of Edwin Drood. By Charles Dickens. (Chapman & Hall.)

BUT a few brief months have swiftly passed since we recorded the appearance of the first number of a new story by Charles Dickens. We hailed the promise that it gave of interest in the story, and ability in the method of dealing with it. The fragment that is now before the public is all that we shall possess of it. It is like a promise unfulfilled, yet not wilfully broken. He who had pledged himself would have redeemed the pledge, had it not been otherwise ordained: and as it is, with an apparent consciousness of being at his work beneath the shadow of the wing of the Inevitable Angel, the author betrayed no faintness of spirit. At his last, he was at his best. In his concluding chapters, especially in the "Shadow on the Sun-Dial," and in "Dawn again," there is as good writing as ever fell from his pen. The mind was stronger than the body. The blade at last pierced the sheath; and we mourn one more of the few sons of genius gone to his rest. There is, however, no ground for excess of sorrow. Charles Dickens died in the fullness of his fame, and with his powers undiminished by the use and application of them. He and all like him, who have passed the barrier which divides the dead from the living, have an incalculable advantage over their survivors.

It has been the lot of many an author to die, as it were, in harness. The pen has dropped from many a hand leaving work unfinished, yet not altogether incomplete. All such unfinished work should be sacred. It was probably some enemy of Mr. Wilkie Collins who circulated the report that he intended to carry Charles Dickens's 'Edwin Drood' to its natural end. In all such work there is an audacity which belies any asserted respect or reverence for the original writer. Thackeray's last legacy to literature was wisely left the fragment which we now possess. Lady Trevelyan and her advisers did well in adding nothing to the last instalment of Lord Macaulay's History, which is in itself the brilliant peroration to the panegyric on William of Nassau.

Sir Walter Scott, in 1831, spoke nobly and touchingly of his working to the last, if it only were permitted that his mind should not fail

him before his body. He worked under full consciousness of the peril, which he ultimately encountered with dignified resignation. He alluded in print to what might incapacitate him; but the "great magician" of his day was then nearer the natural term of human life than Charles Dickens was when work and life were at once and suddenly brought to an end. Pardonable curiosity has, perhaps, gone through these pages of 'Edwin Drood' in search of any sign that might be found of the impending shadow. The utmost reward of such search takes the form of coincidence; but we must not conclude that there is personal application in it. Perhaps the most remarkable passage of this nature occurs in chapter 12, "A Night with Durdles," which the writer, we believe, did not live to see in print, except as a "proof." It occurs where Jasper crosses the churchyard by night, on his way to Durdles, picking his course among gravestones, monuments, stony lumber, and marble in preparation for some coming denizen of the Silent City: "The two journeymen have left their two great saws sticking in their blocks of stone; and two skeleton journeymen out of the Dance of Death might be grinning in the shadow of their sheltering sentry-boxes, about to slash away at cutting out the gravestones of the next two people destined to die in Cloisterham. Likely enough, the two think little of that now, being alive and perhaps merry. Curious to make a guess at the two;—or say at one of the two."

Reflections like the above, with modification, according to the power of making them, are not uncommon to inquiring human nature, with reference quite beyond Self. In reflections generally the book is not superabundantly rich. A quaint humour is the characteristic of some of them; as, for example, in the remark of the Dean of Cloisterham, who with worldly wisdom remarks to the Rev. Mr. Crisparkle, "In point of fact, Mr. Crisparkle, keeping our hearts warm and our heads cool, we clergy need do nothing emphatically." Was it a chance shot, or one steadily aimed at a certain society, the members of which are described as "geniuses who have written tragedies which nobody will on any account whatever hear of bringing out; and these choice spirits dedicate their plays to one another in a highly panegyric manner"? Something truer is said of opium, but it is, perhaps, too philosophical in quality for the lips of the old woman who gives it expression: "Opium's like a human creature so far, that you can always hear what can be said against it, but seldom what can be said in its praise." From the touch of sarcasm here, we turn to a sublimer truth, in reference to a wish to read in the stars something that is hidden from us: "Many of us would if we could; but none of us so much as know our letters in the stars yet,—or seem likely to do it in this state of existence,—and few languages can be read until their alphabets be mastered."

To those persons who see in the characters of 'Edwin Drood' as much of the caricatured or exaggerated quality as many saw in 'Pickwick,' we would remark that there is really as much difference between them as between the two portraits of the author in the two works just named. The earlier portrait has a touch of the young "gent" of his day, looking at Count D'Orsay with a design of imitating or surpassing him in dress. The portrait of

the author as he was among us just before he died is that of a man to whom years have brought that expression of thought which affords one of the best samples of manly beauty. So, time improved the author's delineation of character, and yet preserved some of the older strongly-marked features. Mr. Honeythunder is, no doubt, an exaggeration, just as Mr. Pickwick is; but only a master-hand could draw it. A dramatic hero who delivers a soliloquy is like nothing in nature, for no man delivers soliloquies. But this is allowed on the stage, that the audience may know the *thoughts* of the person represented. So in many characters in novels, the individuals need to be in a strong light, the better to show their peculiarities. Thackeray used the light less glaringly than Dickens. We should describe the difference between the two as something like that which exists on the stage between Mr. Toole and Mr. Compton. The artistic exaggerations of Mr. Toole compel unextinguishable laughter: the artistic reality of Mr. Compton, his quiet, truthful, irresistible humour, win general sympathy, and compel universal applause. Author and actor, each works according to his gifts. It required as great an artist to describe old Weller as Colonel Newcome: the authors of the works in which they figure will go down to posterity, till changes of fashion and speech render them unintelligible. People will cease to take interest in the Cider Cellar and the Fleet Prison, but all that truly reflects human nature, and not merely the passing manners and slang of the day, will survive.

Besides the portrait to this volume, there is a vignette representing Rochester Castle and Cathedral. We take this to be a tacit confession that Cloisterham is, in fact, Rochester. However this may be, we have only further to say of the book before us that it is, after all, not such a fragment as it looks. In itself it is really complete. If it pauses in mid-story, it is exactly at the point where the stop, if inevitable, could best occur. Speculation may weary itself with conjectures as to how the Mystery was to be unravelled; incipient novelists may lawfully try their mettle at developing it, if they only commit the results of their labour to the flames when they have done; the public will be at once sad and satisfied to take the story of 'Edwin Drood' as it is,—grateful to the author and his memory for what he achieved, and with implicit faith in him as to what he intended.

Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords, officially taken by Henry Elsing, Clerk of the Parliaments, A.D. 1621. Edited, from the original MS., by Samuel Rawson Gardiner, Esq. (Printed for the Camden Society.)

THIS is a book, strictly speaking, neither of antiquarian interest, nor of any great historical value; indeed, but for the fact that it throws a little light upon the trial—a trial which, to unprejudiced eyes, will always present many of the characteristics of a persecution—of Pope's "wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind," we hardly think that the Camden Society, unless under stress for a book by a given date, would have thought it worth while to publish it: for its ingredients, though in one sense they may be said to be novel, are in general

extremely meagre, occasionally unintelligible, and consequently all but destitute of interest. As for the form in which the volume itself is placed in the hands of the subscribers, not a word is to be said in other than terms of commendation, and Mr. Gardiner, we feel satisfied, has well and conscientiously performed his joint duties of transcriber and editor; duties which, it would appear from his Preface, have devolved upon him at the suggestion, and under the guidance, of the late Mr. Bruce.

In 1621 the day was yet far distant, more than a century had to elapse, before Johnson was to trudge from Edial to London, and, with the industrious Edward Cave for his coadjutor, under the flimsy titles of Clinabs and Hurgos, and the like,—borrowed from the political fiction of even a mightier master of the pen than himself,—disclose to the public (with perhaps more of exactness than he has hitherto been given credit for) much of the till then unrevealed minutiae of debate, in both Houses of Parliament alike. The 'Journals of the House of Commons,' as Mr. Gardiner reminds us in his Preface, during the early part of the seventeenth century, are filled with reports of the speeches delivered in the debates; which, though but condensed, give a fair idea of the arguments used by the leading speakers. The Journal Books of the House of Lords, on the other hand, tell us of the official acts of the House, what Bills were read, what messages sent to the Commons, and what Reports were brought up from Committees. But no speech made by an individual peer was ever entered in them: a proposition appears, the name of the proposer appears with it; the result of the proposition, and but little more, if anything. Such being the case, we are bound, to a certain extent, to be thankful for the small mercies vouchsafed to us in the present volume: for, indeed, measured by time, they are but small, covering little more than two months of our Parliamentary annals two centuries and a half ago.

Mr. Gardiner remarks—"It now appears, however, that the record so jealously excluded from the Journals was kept in a rough and undigested form, for reference by members of this House." This, we presume, he hardly intends to be looked upon as a general statement, but as limited to 1621, the year to which the present work bears reference. Some volumes lately discovered by Mr. Bruce among the manuscripts belonging to Col. Carew, at Crowcombe Court, have led to the conclusion that (for a time at least) rough notes of the speeches of the Lords were taken down by the Clerk of the Parliaments, for some purpose or other;—Mr. Gardiner says, for the purpose of reference by members of the House. Of the four volumes originally filled by Elsing, as belonging to the year 1621, two only are known to have survived, and it is the contents of these that mainly occupy the pages of the present volume. To console us for the absence of the other volumes, we learn from the Editor that, on reference to the Journals, it has been found that little has been lost in comparison to that which has been preserved; the chief merits of which, in his opinion, seem to be, that they "give us an insight into the state of parties in the Upper House, and into the character of its leading members, which we have never had before." In spite of this commendation, however, we cannot but come to

the conclusion, as already hinted, that, so brief and so meagre are Elsing's notes, speeches being in general cut down to the dimensions of from two to seven lines, that much of his matter would be unappreciable by, if not unintelligible to, the most intelligent reader, unless closely scanned side by side with the contemporary Journals of the House of Lords; a difficulty, however, which the editor's carefulness, aided by the courtesy of Sir John Lefevre, Elsing's successor in office, has obviated to some extent.

As the result of a pretty careful examination of the book, it seems to us that the then great question of a week or two, known as "The Gold and Silver Thread Case," and the dozen discussions ramifying from it as to the guilt of this person or that; the Debates on the Monopoly Patents, and the Monopoly Bill; and the Debates in Lord Verulam's Case, may be said to form the main staple of its pages. In reference to the latter, the editor remarks—

"Attention will, no doubt, be specially directed to the debates in Bacon's case, the report of which finally disposes of the theory that Bacon's fall was brought about or accelerated by the ill-will of the favourite. For that theory can now only be maintained by those who think that Buckingham was capable of dissimulation, a fault which it is not likely any one will ever lay to his charge."

Another point of interest, he might have added, attaches to the volume, in the fact that in these debates are some of the earliest recorded utterances—brief, certainly, and *valent quantum*—of "The Prynne," afterwards Charles the First, the man whose unhappy reign was to be signalized by as many mistakes as his character was adorned by virtues, and not a few of either.

The following passage, we think, will give the reader a fair knowledge, alike of Mr. Elsing's very condensed and almost spasmodic style of reporting, and of the general nature of the contents of Mr. Gardiner's volume:—a message, be it observed, has just been sent to the disgraced Lord Chancellor, by order of the House, to know whether he will make his submission, or enter on his defence:—

"*Per the Prynce.*—We have receaved a doubtfull aunswere, and therefore we sende unto him to knowe of him, directly and presently, whether he will make his confession or stande uppon defense. Bycause the lords conceive some doubtte of his aunswere, their lordships require his lordship to send present answere whether hee will make his confession or stand uppon his justification."

After a long interlude in reference to Sir John Bennett's bail, which is finally settled at 40,000*l.*, the debate as to the Lord Chancellor is resumed, an answer having apparently been sent to the Lords' second message.—

"Mr. Baron Denham delyvered in wryghting:—My Lord Chauncelor will make no manner of defens to the charge. But meaneth to acknowledge corrupcion, and to make a particular confession to every poynt, and after that, an humble submission. But humbly craves libertie that, where the charge is more full then he hynde the truth of the fact, he may make declaration of the truth in such particulars, the charge being brieve, and conteyning not all circumstances. *Southampton.* For that he named noe tyme, a tyme to be lyimited him for this confession. *Suffolke.* His submission to be in person. *L. Chamberlain.* Yf the extenuation to lessen his confession or submission, then to receive a submission at the barre; but yf they be not extenuated, then the submission to be receaved in wryhtinge."

The uncertainty of the exact meaning of Mr. Elsing's incoherent notes cannot, we think, be

better illustrated than in the following passages; in reference to the examination of a prisoner named "Fowles," in the Silk Thread Case:—

"The prisoner was removed, and Mr. Herne delyvered his opynion touching the abuse in the dyeing of silke; that this may be best learned from the Thorowsters, viz. Dearde and Crowche, who were employed thereby. Shewes the washing by them, who washed away the gum. Then the dyer was founde out to add that to the weight what the washers had taken away, which the washer coule not doe. *Northc.* Not necessary to dye the sylke which was to be covered with golde or sylver; the dyers to be examined. *Warwicke.* Fowles gayned 4 crownes uppon every pounce. *Coventry et Lichfield.* Fowles involved him in the word 'addicion,' which apperes plainly to be sophisticacion. *Suffolk.* Addicion may be lawfull, for that there is no losse in the washing. *Prynne.* To be satisfied whether the white leade and arsnick used in the addicion be a sophisticacion or deceipt, or may be justified. *North.* To hear the sylkemen. *Prynne.* To knowe of them whether addicion to the weight may be used honestly, and whether that addicion hath been aunceyntly used or noe, and what proporcion of addicion," &c.

On the 30th of April, a Bill is mentioned as being read that day, for the second time, "for the better repressinge of Popish Recusants": the following are briefly mentioned as its characteristics, by members of the Episcopal bench:

"*Bathon. and Wells.* A remedye to brynge them to Church as well as to punish their — [a blank]. *Coventry and Lichfield.* A stricter course against the obstinate recusants which will refuse to hear admonicion or instruction. *Bangor.* A remedye against the woemen recusants whoe retourne scoffes, flowtes, and tauntes, when the Bishops offer to instructe them."

At the same sitting, the Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Arthur Lake) either proposes or suggests "A Byll against the abuse of sacred things, as christening of doggs, &c.," which is immediately followed by the second reading of a Bill "against Profane Swearing."

In the margin of the volume, we have from time to time a few significant "asides" of Mr. Elsing's own, in proof of the tribulations he had occasionally to undergo, from being the possessor either of but a tardy pen or a defective hearing. "I could not hear him," he writes in one place; "I could not conceive [understand] him"; "in many places I could not heare the Lord Treasurer. Ergo I humbly desyre his Lordship to peruse this, and to amend yt"; "I dyd not very well heare the Lord Admyrall, and therefore desyre to be helped here"; "His Lordshipp spake so fast I could not followe him with my penn."

The art of reporting has very much improved since Elsing's time, and indeed is little sensible of the dilemma which he evidently experienced, the not uncommon case of the reporter being unable to "conceive" a single sentence of the speaker's utterances. To help the orator "at a pinch" is no immaterial part of the ready writer's vocation at the present day.

Daybreak in Spain; or, Sketches of Spain and its New Reformation: a Tour of Two Months. By the Rev. J. A. Wylie, LL.D. (Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.)

THIS book illustrates the musty proverb that "the shoemaker should stick to his last." So long as the author states simple facts out of his own personal knowledge, and adheres to biblical extracts we recognize in him an earnest but somewhat bigoted Christian, allowing himself occasional drams of enthusiasm at the

reported success of "Bible Christianity" in Spain; but when he strays into the fields of history, literature, or art, he is out of his element. Alluding to Spain's Homeric hero, the Cid, he says: "Foremost amongst these (famous in Castilian story) is the great Cid, a scoundrel of the first water." Dr. Wylie forgets that the long and sanguinary struggle against the Arabs led the way to Christian civilization in Europe. The following will be news to the admirers of Velasquez: "In this library (Escorial) is a portrait of Philip the Second, by Titian, and compared with those in the museum at Madrid, by Velasquez, it tells of the ravages of bigotry on both the body and mind of Philip. Velasquez painted the monarch when he was comparatively young; Titian when he had grown old."

As an antithesis to the melo-dramatic form of the worship of Rome, the severe and simple Presbyterian service is probably the best adapted by contrast to impress the Spaniard of to-day, and it would appear that the Scottish societies have been the principal purveyors of the money which has done so much for the circulation of Protestant Bibles throughout the Peninsula. We fancy, however, that "organization" for some time will mean a constant supply of "golden means" from the coffers of the "parent societies" to that of the Protestant bantlings lately born in Castile and Andalusia; but we trust that the price of a Spanish Protestant will not rise to the present money value of an Evangelized Israelite. It would have been more satisfactory to find from Dr. Wylie's statement that the cost of the dissemination of the "Great Master's truths" had been at any rate partially borne by the Spanish Protestants themselves, and not all borne by the parent societies. It is to be hoped that Toleration will become so firmly rooted in Spain as to admit of every citizen worshipping his God in the form he conscientiously believes to be right; but those desirous of seeing wholesale conversion from that "other form of faith" must "not want too much, and want it too quickly." Spain has for years resisted, and with success, the faintest effort to promulgate the reformed religion, regarding it not only as a spiritual error, but as an outrage on a country which prided itself on being unanimously Catholic; the Spanish rulers have ever spoken of heresy as a mistake, a vulgar error not to be tolerated, a simple ecclesiastical nuisance, to be put down and kept down. Protestantism in Spain; why not? as in France, in Italy, in Germany, and in Ireland. There is a religious *lacuna* to be filled in Spain, and Protestantism should fill it. Still we fancy Protestantism would grow none the less rapidly if "parent societies" buttoned up their breeches pockets a little more closely than they do. You can hardly consider a convert one who partakes of the most solemn rite of the Reformed Church, and calls it a cheap supper of bread and wine.

Speaking of the face of the country three centuries since, our author says "Spain was a country full of all earthly felicities. It was renowned for the corn of its plains, for the wine and oil of its mountains, and for the milk and the butter of its pastures; but it is not so with Spain now; the beauty of former days is gone, and the country is positively ugly: its plains no longer wave with corn, its mountains no longer flow with wine, nor its pastures with milk; it is a ruin, and a ruin so vast, that it

confounds, and we may say terrifies the stranger." Dr. Wylie's bucolic knowledge would appear to be limited, as he evidently expected to see the fields of Castile in October covered with golden grain. Statistical facts prove that the production of cereals, wine and oil has immensely increased since the French invasion: but facts do not always make pretty periods. Irrigation is the great need of Spain, and although something has been done, much remains undone—still it is simply absurd to speak of the country as a desert, because the Northern Railway has been carried through the least valuable lands of Spain: had our traveller branched off at Pamplona, and reached Madrid by the Zaragoza line, he would have seen what fertility means. We accept with all good faith the statements of Dr. Wylie, so far as they refer to the progress of Protestantism in Spain; beyond this we cannot go. Throughout the book many Spanish words are introduced, and not one spelt correctly—*auto da fé* (instead of *auto de fé*) is used liberally; and sentences like this constantly crop up, (referring to Burgos): "It recalled pictures we had seen of the Birs Nimrod, on the wasted plain of Babylon. So rose this mount on the wasted plains of Castile, and we could not help seeing in the desolation with which it was stricken, the hand of Providence visibly stamped upon this stronghold of robbers and spillers of human blood."

The introductory chapters are the most readable, and are not so highly seasoned with the "Tracts by Jingo" logic, so mercilessly satirized by Thackeray in an early number of *Punch*. A young American, Mr. Knapp, has attacked the gutter children from the lowest dens in Madrid, and has succeeded in collecting some 300 scholars. God prosper his work! On the other hand, if Jerez contains a congregation of 4000 Protestants, we advise self-help, and not an application to the "Parent Society," "to send a pastor to this town."

Ode on the Proclamation of the French Republic. By Algernon C. Swinburne. (Ellis.)

No one at all acquainted with Mr. Swinburne's works will be astonished at Mr. Swinburne's writing a poem to greet the new Republic; and it was pretty certain that Mr. Swinburne would dedicate a poem on such a subject to M. Victor Hugo. Of all English writers who have shown power of their own, Mr. Swinburne is the one who has most felt M. Victor Hugo's influence; an influence that has been by no means altogether wholesome. A great command of words and rhythm, such as Mr. Swinburne possesses, is not without dangers of its own: they are apt to lead their possessor to indulge in tricks of style—to look for word-effects—to prefer rhetoric to poetry: and such a tendency is likely to be greatly increased by the close study of one of the most rhetorical of modern poets. If we compare the Ode before us with 'Les Châtiments,' we cannot help being struck by the resemblance in tone of several portions: Mr. Swinburne's versification, it is true, is never harsh: nor does he indulge in many caprices in metaphor; but the politics and the tendency are not unlike. The poem consists of six strophes and six antistrophes, followed by an epode. It begins thus:—

With songs and crying and sounds of acclamations,
Lo, the flame risen, the fire that falls in showers!

Hark; for the word is out among the nations:

Look; for the light is up upon the hours:

O fears, O shames, O many tribulations,

Yours were all yesterdays, but this day ours.

Strong were your bonds linked fast with lamentations,

With groans and tears built into walls and towers;

Strong were your works and wonders of high stations,

Your forts blood-based, and rampires of your

powers:

Lo now the last of divers desolations,

The hand of Time, that gathers hosts like flowers;

Time, that fills up and pours out generations;

Time, at whose breath confounded empire cowers.

Liberty has been dead for nineteen years,
and now France is struck by those who "strike
down wrong": but at last she rises:—

O torn out of thy trance,

O deathless, O my France,

O many-wounded mother, O redeemed to reign!

O rarely sweet and bitter

The bright brief tears that glitter

On thine unclosing eyelids, proud of their own pain;

The beautiful brief tears

That wash the stains of years

White as the names immortal of thy chosen and slain.

O loved so much, so long,

O smitten with such wrong,

O purged at last and perfect without spot or stain,

Light of the light of man,

Reborn republican,

At last, O first Republic, hailed in heaven again!

Out of the obscure eclipse

Re-risen with burning lips

To witness for us if we looked for thee in vain.

This greeting occupies the fifth strophe; the sixth celebrates the republic in very musical verse. The antistrophes begin by reminding France of the great deeds she has done, and then the poet asks—

What hast thou done that such an hour should be

More than another clothed with blood to thee?

Thou hast seen many a blooded hour before this one.

What art thou that thy lovers should misdoubt?

What is this hour that it should cast hope out?

If hope turn back and fall from thee, what hast thou done?

Thou hast done ill against thine own soul; yea,

Thine own soul hast thou slain and burnt away,

Dissolving it with poison into foul thin fume.

Thine own life and creation of thy fate

Thou hast set thine hand to unmake and discreate;

And now thy slain soul rises between dread and doom.

Yea, this is she that comes between them led;

That veiled head is thine own soul's buried head,

The head that was as morning's in the whole world's sight.

These wounds are deadly on thee, but deadlier

Those wounds the ravenous poison left on her;

How shall her weak hands hold thy weak hands up to fight?

France asks who shall help her: the poet bids her look up and see the signs of this:—

Light of light, name of names,

Whose shadows are live flames,

The soul that moves the wings of worlds upon their way.

The close of this portion of the poem is a magnificent piece of versification:—

Thou to whose feet the centuries cling

And in the wide warmth of thy wing

Seek room and rest as birds by night,

O thou the kingless people's king,

To whom the lips of silence sing,

Called by thy name of thanksgiving

Freedom, and by thy name of might

Justice, and by thy secret name

Love; the same need is on the same

Men, be the same God in their sight!

From this their hour of bloody tears

Their praise goes up into thine ears,

Their bruised lips clothe thy name with praises,

The song of thee their crushed voice raises,

Their grief seeks joy for palms to borrow,

With tired feet seeks her through time's mazes

Where each day's blood leaves pale the morrow,

And from their eyes in thine there gazes

A spirit other far than sorrow—

A soul triumphal, white and whole

And single, that salutes thy soul.

The Epode that follows is in a strain that

will remind a reader of the 'Song of Italy,' but, on the whole, we think this poem deserves the higher rank of the two. It is more of a true lyric; it has greater unity, and the thought is, as it ought to be in a lyric, one throughout. There is an absence, too, of that attempt to be forcible at all hazards, which struck us disagreeably in the earlier work. On the whole, we may say that this poem shows that Mr. Swinburne is more likely than he at one time seemed to be, to do justice to his great natural powers. His conception is clearer, the expression more matured, and his feeling more regulated: in a word, he is more artistic.

There are very few passages in the Ode that we should like to omit, and in many there is a richness of imagery, of expression, and a lyric fervour, that places Mr. Swinburne very high among modern poets. The chief defect is an occasional obscurity, not in the main idea of the poem, but in individual passages: this is probably the result of the author's fondness for personification.

The Modern Greek Language in its Relation to Ancient Greek. By E. M. Geldart, B.A. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press.)

MR. GELDART has chosen a good subject; but he has treated it in such a superficial manner, and with such a want of method, that his little book is eminently unsatisfactory. His blundering propensities show themselves even in his short Preface. He finds fault with Mullach for not recognizing sufficiently the discoveries of modern philology in the region of comparative grammar; though many of these discoveries were not made when Mullach wrote, and those that were made were just beginning to claim notice from scholars. Moreover, Mullach may have thought, like Lobeck, that there are departments where the discoveries of comparative philology do not admit of much application; and Mr. Geldart would have done well had he spared his readers a great part of his philological lucubrations, for they are exceedingly wild, and quite erroneous. Mr. Geldart next blames Prof. Sophocles, the author of a 'Modern Greek Grammar,' for calling certain paradigms ancient and others modern. Mr. Geldart thinks that he should have called the one class "the language of polite society," and the other "the language of the common people." But Mr. Geldart should have known that, when Prof. Sophocles wrote, the ancient forms were not the language of polite society,—that these forms were, indeed, used by writers who took the classical or ecclesiastical writers for their models,—but that they had vanished entirely from the conversation of all classes. It is true that a great change has taken place since that time, and that the Greek nation has formed the resolution to use none but genuine Greek words, and to restore as many of the old Greek forms as possible. But these restorations are of no value in a philological point of view. They are not forms that have been handed down by tradition, but forms adopted anew from a feeling of nationality; and Mr. Geldart, if he were to give us an accurate account of the relation of modern to ancient Greek, should have made careful inquiry into what was the language of the Greeks before this artificial revival, and should have separated the phenomena of the one period from those of the other.

The last mistake which we notice in the Preface is a reference to a modern Greek book called 'Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία.' Mr. Geldart describes it as a "biographical history of mediæval and modern Greek literature." It is biographical; but it is no more a history than a cyclopædia is. The same inaccuracy prevails as to other works; and some of the most important, such as that of Gidel, seem to be unknown to Mr. Geldart. These errors, in a Preface of four pages, are indicative of the character of the whole work. Mr. Geldart may plead as an excuse that the book was first prepared in the shape of lectures, and that these were never intended to be exhaustive or minutely accurate. But Mr. Geldart should have either given them as lectures, or he should have gone more thoroughly and carefully into the subject.

Mr. Geldart first discusses the pronunciation of Greek. He makes no attempt to prove historically, as others have done before him, that the modern Greek pronunciation must have been prevalent at the time of Christ; and that some of its features, which the classical scholar is apt to deem modern, can be incontestably proved to be very ancient. He occasionally alludes to some of these arguments, but for the most part he adduces a quantity of philological facts, principally out of Schleicher, and Liddell and Scott, which have really nothing to do with the question of pronunciation; and on these he bases the extravagant conclusion that the pronunciation of Greek has remained, in its main features, the same from the days of Homer to the present time. One specimen of Mr. Geldart's reasoning will suffice. He says, "Λόγος sounds λώ-γος, πραγματικῶς, πραγματικός. That this was so in ancient Greek seems likely, from the accent on πόλεως, μονόκερως, &c." That λόγος was pronounced λώγος by the ancient Greeks seems to us, for many reasons, exceedingly improbable; and surely we may infer from the circumflex over the ως of πραγματικῶς that the ως was pronounced long, with greater security than we can infer from the accent of πόλεως that it was pronounced short.

Mr. Geldart's next chapter is "On Accent and Quantity." It is, in many respects, a very good chapter, and shows a clear apprehension of the subject; only he might have spelt Boeckh's name properly. His conclusion, however, seems to us extravagant. He would read Homer as the modern Greeks do. We see very good reasons for adopting the modern Greek pronunciation in the reading of the prose authors; but some modification of the accentuation is unquestionably required, if justice is to be done to the verse of the poets.

Mr. Geldart then devotes several chapters to the development of modern Greek accidence, syntax, and phraseology from the ancient: but here there is a total want of method. Mr. Geldart, in a rhetorical passage, mentions some of the ancient sources from which the modern has been derived, but he does not attempt to trace it back to these sources. Modern Greek retains many forms from Doric and Æolic. Mr. Geldart gives no account of them, and sometimes speaks of these as if they were part of a parallel language and not a derived one. Modern Greek was much influenced by the Hellenistic. The New Testament was committed to memory by the masses of the people and affected their talk. How far was Hellen-

istic itself a form of modern Greek, and how far did it mould modern Greek? Mr. Geldart does not discuss this question. Then Mr. Geldart omits all notice of the influence of the Italian and Turkish languages on modern Greek, though that influence was great, both in respect of words and forms. Mr. Geldart gives a chapter to the dialects of modern Greek, derived from Mullach; and he might have added considerably to it, had he known the collections published in the 'Pandora.'

The work concludes with a chapter on modern Greek literature. In the course of this, extracts are given in modern Greek, some of which have notes, some have translations, most have neither notes nor translations, and one is translated into German, because Mr. Geldart could not do it into English.

The best and the worst parts of the book are the two appendices. The first appendix discusses the modern forms which are to be found in the Gospel of St. John, and tries to show that there is in these forms proof in favour of the late date assigned to the Gospel by the Tübingen school and by other independent critics. Mr. Geldart does not manage his argument well. In fact, he does not state the reason of his conclusion. He is wrong also in supposing that he is the first to use the argument. It has been employed largely in discussing the date of the Pastor of Hermas, and Hilgenfeld and others have used it in determining the dates of uncials. Still, this appendix is well worth a careful perusal, and contains a great deal of valuable matter.

Appendix second is a lexilogus, and contains a vast amount of wild philological speculation.

We are sorry that we have not been able to pronounce a more favourable judgment on Mr. Geldart's book. The subject is one that deserves the attention of scholars; and Mr. Geldart's book may excite interest and stimulate inquiry in a department where much remains to be done.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Elsass und Lothringen und ihre Wiedergewinnung für Deutschland. Von Prof. Dr. Adolph Wagner. (Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot.)

THE King of Prussia declared at the commencement of hostilities that he was waging war against soldiers, not against French citizens. Dr. Wagner tells us here that France, not Napoleon, is the enemy of the Germans; that the war is with the French nation, and its object is the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. The reasons for this are that the French are a nation puffed up to imbecility; vain, arrogant, and ignorant; equally pitiable in good and bad fortune. They made war upon Prussia in order to gain an accession of territory as a premium on the infamous habit of the Gallican race of having only two children in each family; as a reward for the Parisian system of harlots and can-cans, and as a stimulus to the practice prevailing even in prosperous families of putting out children in the country with nurses and baby-farmers. As the Germans do not demand Alsace and Lorraine with any such object, their claim is as just as the French claim was unjust. Alsace and Lorraine once belonged to Germany; a great number of the inhabitants still speak German; the line of the Vosges would be a natural frontier, and Germany would be safe against future aggression. The question of transferring bodily one or two million citizens from France to Germany concerns nobody but Germany; diplomacy has nothing to say to it, and the people of Alsace and Lorraine have still less. They will be good Germans enough in a generation or two, and any feelings for France which they may have now, will die away as soon as they have the courage

to become German. The German Empire has a claim to the allegiance of all who have once been Germans, as, for instance, to that of the Swiss, who are now rebellious or deserters, and that of the Dutch, who have endeavoured to separate themselves by making their hideous dialect into a written language. Whenever, therefore, Germany chooses to reclaim such former subjects they must at once obey, and they cannot be consulted on the subject. If a province has a right to vote about joining a country, it must equally have a right to vote about leaving a country, and that question was decided by the American War. Of course it is possible that annexation may cause discontent, yet if the annexed and the annexers belong to the same nationality, there will soon be a fusion. The European outcry which generally attends annexation has greeted all the great deeds of German policy from the time of the conquest of Silesia. Such is the tendency of Dr. Wagner's manifesto. The epithets applied to the French are indications of the tone in which much of it is written.

An Analysis of the Principal Steps in a Bankruptcy Proceeding, taken from the Bankruptcy Act, and Rules, with an Index to the Bankruptcy Act, 1869; the Debtors' Act, 1869; and the Bankruptcy Repeal and Insolvent Court Act, 1869; with the Rules made under those Acts, and a List of Forms. By Frank R. Parker. (Stevens.)

THIS work, exclusive of the list of forms, consists of two parts, the Analysis and the Index. The Analysis embraces, in chronological order, the steps in a bankruptcy proceeding. The Index extends to the three Acts above mentioned and the Rules made under them. Great care and industry have been bestowed on both the Analysis and the Index; and the work will, we think, be of considerable use to practitioners in the Court of Bankruptcy.

We have on our table *Life of Charles Dickens*, by R. S. Mackenzie, LL.D. (Philadelphia, Peterson);—*Ronces et Chardons*, par Le Chevalier de Châtelain (Private Circulation);—*Perpetuum Mobile*, Second Series (Spon);—and *Murby's Scripture Manuals*, 'Ecodus' (Murby). Also the following pamphlets: *Our Effective Artillery*, by B. Britten (Mitchell);—*Koumiss and its Use in Medicine*, by Dr. Victor Jagielski (E. Chapman);—*France, Alsace and Lorraine* (Trübner);—*Essays on the War*, by Delta; No. 1, 'Prevention of War Possible' (King);—*The Pacification of Christendom*, by an Englishman (Hodgson);—and *A New Method of Filing Away Miscellaneous Office Papers*, by R. W. Lapper (Waterlow).

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

- Theology.*
 Freemantle's Doctrine of Reconciliation to God, 12mo. 2/ cl. swd.
 Gurney's Dictionary of the Bible, revised by Wrench, cr. 8vo. 6/
 Leighton's Works, by West, Vol. 6, 8vo. 10/ 6 cl.
 My Little Note-Book of Bible and General Knowledge, 12mo. 2/
 One Hundred Pious Reflections, selected from Butler's 'Lives of the Saints,' 32mo. 2/ cl.
 Proctor's History of the Book of Common Prayer, new ed. 10/ 6
 Shepherd (The) of Hermas, trans. by U. H. Hoole, 12mo. 4/ 6 cl.
 Sunday (The) Magazine, Vol. 1870, royal 8vo. 8/ 6 cl.
 Treasury (The) of Devotion, edit. by Rev. T. Carter, new ed. 2/
 Trench's Notes on the Parables, new ed. 8vo. 12/ cl.
 Wesleyan Conference, 1870, Minutes of, 12mo. 1/ 6 cl.
Law.
 Glen's Elementary Education Acts, 1870, 12mo. 3/ 6 cl.
 Heywood's Common Law and Equity Practice of County Courts, cr. 8vo. 5/ cl.
Poetry.
 Bell's English Poets, Re-issue, Vol. 12, 'Dryden, Vol. 2,' 1/ 3 cl.
 Swinburne's Ode on Proclamation of French Republic, 1870, 1/
Geography.
 Philip's Student's Atlas of Modern Geography, by Hughes, 7/ 6
Philology.
 Short Extracts from Modern French Authors, for Schools, 3/ cl.
 White's New Virgil Reader, 12mo. 4/ 6 cl.
General Literature.
 Alcott's Little Women, 2 Parts in 1 vol. 12mo. 3/ 6 cl.
 American and Continental Monthly, Vol. 1, 8vo. 3/ 6 cl.
 Bacon's Conference of Pleasure, by Spedding, 8vo. 5/ cl.
 Hingston's The Genial Showman, 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 18/ cl.
 Hurdall's Thoughts by the Way, 32mo. 1/ cl.
 John Marchmont's Legacy, new ed. 12mo. 2/ 6 cl.
 Lascelles's Laws affecting Juvenile Offenders, 8vo. 6/ cl.
 Little Red Riding-hood Picture-Book, 4to. 5/ cl.
 Little Snow-White and Rose-Red Picture-Book, 4to. 5/ cl.
 Montaigne's Essays, with Life, Notes, &c. by Cotton, cr. 8vo. 5/
 Nelly's Dark Days, by the Author of 'Jessica's First Prayer,' 1/
 Wood's (Mrs. H.) Orville College Boys, new ed. cr. 8vo. 5/ cl.

NEW-OLD POEM BY FRANCIS QUARLES.

Maidenhead, Sept. 9, 1870.

As you have done me the favour to notice one of my fifty-copy reprints in the last *Athenæum*, your readers may like to hear of a trifling book-find (it is not worthy to be called a discovery) I have lately made while travelling in the North of England. If bookish people would but keep open their eyes when they enter a country town, it is not rarely that their pains will not be in some way rewarded.

I was at Keswick, in the centre of the Lake District, on a market-day, and, surrounded by meat, fruit, bacon, butter, and other stalls, I saw one precisely like that formerly kept by the father of Dr. Johnson, in places in the neighbourhood of Lichfield, only a little more elaborate, for from forty to fifty shelves were set up in the open air, filled with volumes of all ages and sizes. I had not much time to spare, but, casting my eyes over some of the most shabby and rough-looking lots of small books, I came upon one which I had never heard of before, and which, although by a poet of remarkable celebrity in his day, has never been noticed by any bibliographer. I allude to Francis Quarles, to whom no fewer than twenty-six different productions have been assigned, no one of them being the tract upon which I laid my hand in Keswick. I shall therefore give a short account of it, premising that, as it relates to one of the most distinguished men of the reigns of Elizabeth, James the First and Charles the First, it is the more singular that it should have escaped notice. The following is its exact title-page:—"An Elegie upon the truly lamented Death of the Right Honourable Sir Julius Cæsar, Knt. Master of the Rolles and St^r Katherine's; and One of his Majesties most Honorable Privy Counsell.—Wept by Fra: Qua. *Micat inter omnes*, &c.—London, Printed for John Marriot. 1636." Svo. It has a double dedication, to Lady Cæsar, the widow of Sir Julius, and to their three sons, Charles, John and Robert: in the first, signed Fra: Quarles, he says, with his usual pious quaintness, "We are all prisoners for a debt we owe to Nature, committed to the gale of this transitory world. Some pay sooner, some later: all must pay. As yesterday, our blessed Saviour paid it: to-day your dear husband paid it—an example sweetly followed: he followed him in his life: he followed him in his death; and so close in both, that as in life he was assuredly his by Grace, so in death he was most certainly his in Glory." In the dedication to the sons, we have the commonplace *Leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent*, but Quarles contrives to squeeze out seven pages of "tears in verse." I only extract a few characteristic lines:—

'Tis he whose righteous balance did while-ere
Deale justice so, as if Astræa were
Return'd from Heaven, or Saturn's conquering hand
Had new regain'd his long usurp'd command
From his deposed son. His heart was stone
To pleading vice, and waxe to every groene:
His wisdom, bounty, love and zeale did rise
Like those foure springs that watred Paradise,
And with their fruitful tides did overflow
This glorious Island, on whose banks do grow
Faire grafts of honor, fragrant flowers of peace,
Full crops of plenty, laden with increase.

The meeting with this new work by Quarles in a country town is an insignificant matter; but the proof that Chaucer was not the author of 'The Testament of Love' is of real importance, because it destroys the whole fabric of the biographical conclusions hitherto drawn from it. While away from London for five or six weeks, I did not see the *Athenæum* regularly; but on my return I observe, on the 20th of August, a brief note, stating that I had been anticipated by a foreign author, of whom, in my ignorance of modern German literature, I had never heard. It may very well be so, and Mr. Hertzberg may have formed the same opinion a year before I promulgated my notion upon the subject, in August, 1867. It would be easy for me to show that I had noted 'The Testament of Love,' as not the production of Chaucer, as early as 1865; but the fact is all that is of importance, and if Mr. Hertzberg first found, and first published abroad, the proof of the fact, I shall be most ready at once to relinquish my poor claim; excepting thus far, that nobody before me

had given a hint of the kind in our language. I am now so far advanced in life that there is every probability that this will be the last of my literary discoveries; and for this reason I may formerly have dwelt upon the point as of more consequence than really belongs to it. It is something, however, that no editor will hereafter speak of Chaucer as the writer of 'The Testament of Love.'

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

A POEM RECLAIMED.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sept. 12, 1870.

By a very simple process on the part of Mr. Lowth, this matter has become a question of veracity. He does not, in his letter of the 10th inst., give any additional evidence in support of the claim he set up, but merely makes fresh assertions. He did not, as he now says he did, "hazard a supposition" in his of the 20th ult., that Hood had got a copy of his poem through some other channel than *Punch*; he said "I can only account for the stanzas coming into the possession of Hood by the fact of his having been connected with *Punch* at the time of my sending to the editor of that paper my MS." I have shown, in my letter of the 27th ult., that Hood's stanzas were published upwards of two years before *Punch* was started. These facts do not suit Mr. Lowth; in short, he plainly tells us in this last letter that what he had said on a previous occasion is all nonsense, and calls upon us to believe another story, by ante-dating the birth of his version. The letters on the subject are now before the public, by whose verdict I am quite willing to abide.

WM. LYALL.

Winchester, Sept. 10, 1870.

It may be worth Mr. Lowth's while, in support of his claim, to bring forward other verses of the same kind which he may have written. Certainly, the ability of Hood to produce such a *jeu d'esprit* without any assistance cannot be questioned. It is not impossible that Mr. Lowth's verses may have been shown to Hood as the work of an amateur, and not intended for publication, and he may have been induced to recast them—a task which to him would be very easy. After all, they are by no means in Hood's best manner, and it will not, in the slightest degree, affect Hood's great reputation if we give them up to Mr. Lowth.

J. W. WHITE.

THE UNPUBLISHED EPITAPH ATTRIBUTED TO MILTON.

II.

An analysis of the Epitaph in question shows that its 54 lines contain 430 vowel sounds, of which 195 are rhyming vowels, and 206 cadent vowels; that is to say, of rhyming vowels 45.34 per cent., of cadent vowels 47.90 per cent., in all 93.24 per cent.

A poem similar in form and character to the above is Milton's Epitaph on the Death of the Marchioness of Winchester. I have submitted this one to the same analysis as the other, and noted that its 74 lines contain 575 vowel sounds, of which 42.95 per cent. are rhyming vowels, and 46.8 per cent. cadent vowels, in all 89.03 per cent.

Regarding these figures as remarkable, I was induced to subject the question to a further test by analyzing lines 1 to 75 of 'Paradise Lost,' Book I. These I found to contain 804 vowel sounds, of which 49.12 per cent. are rhyming vowels, and 58.29 per cent. cadent vowels, in all 107.41 per cent.

For comparison, the figures may be arranged thus:—

	Rhyming Vowels.	Cadent Vowels.	Total.
Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Paradise Lost, lines 1 to 75, Book I.	49.12	58.29	107.41
Unpublished Epitaph	45.34	47.90	93.24
Epitaph on the Death of the Marchioness of Win- chester	42.95	46.08	89.03

2. A further ground of comparison lies between the numbers of open vowels, of confluent and semi-confluents, and of non-confluents, used to

connect the words of a poem. In the following line there is no meeting of consonants,—an effect prevented by an open vowel being placed between every two adjoining words, whence the extreme fluency of the versification—

O how unlike the place from whence they fell.

Confluent and semi-confluent consonants are equally effective in giving smoothness to verse. A confluence is derived from the juxtaposition of two like letters, such as d d in sad day, l l in all lost, t t in at times. These like consonants are types of the confluent series; but, besides these, there are many homologous ones which respond to the same function, such as n l in the word unlike, the effect of which is noticeable as contributing sweetness to the line above quoted from 'Paradise Lost.' These confluent consonants demand no further effort of speech than a single consonant placed between two vowels may require, for it is by the same mechanism that sad-day and sad-ay, all-lost and all-ost, at-times and at-imes are enunciated. By the use of confluent consonants, therefore, the same advantage is gained as by that of an open vowel and a consonant, an advantage to which no good ear is insensible. The number of homologous consonants which have confluent properties is considerable; of these t and l take the lead. They are also spoken by means of the same mechanism as that which is brought into play by the pronunciation of a single consonant. A further characteristic of them is, that they are in mutual relation with each other, that is to say, are capable of transposition. In the words atlas and altar, for instance, when the letters t and l are reversed, that is, made to take each other's place, their confluence accompanies the change. Assuming 20 consonants to be the entire number that takes part in composition, they will yield 400 combinations of two: of this total 119 are confluent, which gives 29.75 per cent.

Besides that of confluent consonants, there exists another class of the nature of liquids, and consisting of consonants having semi-confluent characters. The most remarkable of these are r, l, s. They are not mutually related, but are confluent only when they take the initiative in conjunction with certain other consonants. The letters r and n in the words for, not, are confluent, but when transposed they are non-confluent. They are not correlative; at the same time, when properly placed, their confluence is equal, or nearly so, to that of the true confluent class. These semi-confluents have 51 combinations of two, according to my estimate,—a number equal to 12.75 per cent. We have thus a total of 42.50 per cent. of consonant combinations out of 400 which are possessed of confluent properties.

The ratio of confluent to non-confluents varies in different writings, and may probably be made a means of identifying the authors of anonymous works. In the three first stanzas of 'Venus and Adonis' there are 31 confluent combinations of both classes to 27 non-confluents, or 53.4 per cent., which is 11 per cent. more than the average proportion. In the following works, namely, the 'Unpublished Epitaph,' and some known writings of Milton, the average of confluent consonants of both classes does not reach higher than 31.40 per cent.

The following figures may now be compared, with a view to determine the further relation which the 'Unpublished Epitaph' bears to the writings of Milton:—

	Open Vowels.	Confluents.	Non- Confluents.
Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Unpublished Epitaph, lines 54	58.94	14.67	26.36
Epitaph on the Death of the Marchioness of Win- chester, lines 74	60.31	9.72	29.96
Paradise Lost, lines 1 to 75, Book I.	61.64	10.68	27.62
The Passion, lines 56	62.75	14.54	24.23

3. The virtue of pure terminal rhymes lies in the chiming together of two like vowels, both of which are long, as in brave, slave; or short, as in live, give; these are orthographic rhymes; and the false, which chime only to the ear, mere auricular rhymes, have no orthographic relationship,

though they resemble each other phonetically; as, for example, in fought, sort, height, rite.

From the time of Chaucer to the present day there has been a steady decadence in the rhyming art, as the following approximative result, exhibiting the proportion of false to true rhymes in certain great poets, will show. The poems of Chaucer are peculiarly free from false rhymes, not averaging more, perhaps, than two, at most three per cent.; while Spenser's may reach from three to four. With Shakspeare began the total violation of pure rhyme, and his example has not been without effect, as the following will show:—Shakspeare, 9.64 per cent. of false rhyme; Milton, 12.11; Dryden, 15.60; Pope, 16.64; Gray, 20.7; Coleridge, 15.22; Byron, 16.09; Shelley, 16.56. But these figures must only be accepted as exhibiting a general or approximative truth. Certainly the rhymes of Shakspeare, Milton and Gray have been fully analyzed; while those of Dryden, Pope and Byron have been sufficiently investigated to afford me data for arriving, with some degree of certainty, at the proportionate numbers given. Such is the force of recurrent habit, I have often found the average of false rhymes to true, in an author, indicated in the first thousand lines that I have examined.

It will be observed that the average number of false rhymes in Milton is 12.11 per cent., the extreme range being from 8.29 per cent., as in the songs of 'Comus,' to 18.22 per cent., as in 'Lycidas.' Milton being the subject of this communication, the full details of this result may be desirable:—Lycidas, 18.22 per cent. of false rhymes; L'Allegro, 10.52; Il Penseroso, 9.09; Arcades, 9.17; Songs of Comus, 8.29; Sonnets, 14.28; Odes, 12.45; Miscellaneous, 12.76; Psalms, 12.05; total of 318 false rhymes in 2,624 lines=12.11 per cent.

Now it is a fact, to say the least of it, extremely remarkable, that the Epitaph discovered by Prof. Morley should contain the mean average of false to true rhymes, of all Milton's rhymed verses. It consists of fifty-four lines, in which there are seven false rhymes or 12.96 per cent.

Having thus tested the unpublished Epitaph, I think that the coincidences between it and the writings of Milton, as far as the comparison goes, are sufficiently obvious to encourage an extension of the method used, whether for this or for similar purposes. I myself entertain a very strong opinion on the importance of this means, both for estimating known works in all civilized languages, and for verifying the authorship of anonymous productions.

There are several minor elements of composition in themselves highly interesting, but less applicable to the present purpose of identifying works than of exhibiting those laws which govern the mind in composing and speaking; one, for instance, is the existence of nodal consonants, which tend to modulate the voice by depressing it in speaking, theoretically a whole octave, but practically from about three semitones to three tones.

T. G. HAKE, M.D. F.C.S.

GERMANY AND THE WAR.

Leipzig, Sept. 5, 1870.

THIS is neither the place, nor is it possible for me adequately to describe the impression which the astounding intelligence, on its arrival last Saturday, of Napoleon's surrender to the King of Prussia produced throughout Germany. That was a day not easily forgotten. The houses were here, as in every other German town, literally covered with flags, the church bells tolled joyful peals, guns were being fired almost uninterruptedly till late at night, a thanksgiving service was performed in the evening, and, amidst a general illumination, all the glee-clubs of the town assembled in the market to sing in one chorus the hymn 'Nun danket Alle Gott!'

There is now, among many other similar ones, a collection of war songs publishing at Berlin (F. Lipperheide), entitled 'Songs Offensive and Defensive, Offerings of German Poets during the War of 1870,' the net proceeds of which are intended for the societies in aid of the wounded of the whole German army. I mention this in particular,—

first, because of its charitable object; and secondly, because it contains contributions not only from our foremost younger poets, but also from some of the oldest. Thus, Prof. Dr. Maassmann Heine's butt, though seventy-three years of age, sent in one headed 'Ernst M. Arndt and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn,' which, though not very poetical, shows no lack of patriotic ardour; and another veteran poet, the translator of the 'Nibelungen,' Shakspeare, &c., Karl Simrock, of Bonn, sixty-eight years old, contributes the following, which is characterized by his wonted playful style, reminding one of Ruckert's manner. The pun being impossible to be rendered into English, I beg to insert the song in the original:—

Hiebe auf Diebe.

Wir sassen so lang in gemüthlicher Ruh
Und rehten nur Liebe auf Triebe;
Dem verlogenen Feinde nur setzen wir zu
Und reimen ihm Hiebe auf Diebe.
Wie sehr ihm auch Liebe für Hiebe gebracht,
So fallen die Hiebe dem Diebe doch dicht.
Die natürliche Grenze begehrt der Franzos
Und weiss nicht, es sind die Vogesen;
Er hat von Geographie nichts los
Und nie den Karl Ritter gelesen.
Nun muss er so spät sich zur Schule bequemen;
Wir wollen ihm alles Gestohlene nehmen.

In my previous communications I ought to have mentioned Geibel Ritterhaus, Träger's, Alfred Meissner's, and, though last not least, Kladderadatsch's poetical effusions, as among the best this war has produced. Bodenstedt has published 'Nine War Songs'; Rudolph Genée, German Storming Songs against the French; and Müller v. der Werra has joined W. Baensch in another collection of 'Songs Offensive and Defensive, in the Year of the German Rising, 1870.' As a curiosity I must mention, that while in the text of the 'Wacht am Rhein,' circulating here, and probably throughout Germany, the third strophe, 'Und ob mein Herz,' &c. is left out, and a new one added at the end, running thus:—

So führe uns, Du bist bewährt,
In Gortvertralt greif zu dem Schwert,
Hoch Wäthelnd! Nieder mit der Brut:
Und tilg die Schmach mit Feindes blut.
Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein,
Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein!

You in England (*Athenæum*, August 20th, and the *Times*, a few days previously,) have published the correct text, as written by Schenckenburger. *Habent sua fata* may surely be applied with equally great, if not even greater, justice to *carmina* than to *libelli*. Think only of the 'Marseillaise,' and now the song in question.

The present war is not only carried on against the political domination of France, but against her unhealthy literature and her influence on the fashions. Thus, while Fanny Lewald and others, following her example, are calling upon German women to abandon the "chignon" and other French modes of dressing, Julian Schneditz is writing a series of articles in the national *Zeitung* against French imaginative literature. There is, no doubt, much that is unsound in that department of French literary efforts, and much mischief has been done to morality by those writers of France whose works are most in demand at the circulating libraries. Nor, indeed, can France rank with either England or Germany in the value of her literature in general. She can boast of neither a Hamlet nor a Faust; though she certainly can point to her Molière and Rabelais as unequaled by any other nation. But it is strange that this war against all that is French should proceed from the country of Frederick the Second, all of whose works, and of an Alexander Humboldt, most of whose are written in French! What a revolutionary age we live in! This reaction will probably affect, in a considerable degree, the future appreciation of Heine and Börne, whose writings bear the strongest traces of French influence, as was but natural, from their living in France and being imbued with the French spirit, besides belonging to a race which, in their time, was already fully emancipated in that country, while, in Germany, it was still placed under exceptional laws.

Of recent publications I must mention No. I. of Schramm's War Pamphlets, containing 'European Diplomacy, German Popular Representation, and

the General Disarmament' (Leipzig, Wigand), which is even stronger in its denunciations of England than Von Treitschke's. The author says—"Great Britain, which ought properly to be called Great India, has no right whatever to interfere in the internal affairs of the European continent. Wherever such a right is by positive treaties tacitly presumed to exist or expressly conceded, it is a mistake which must be rectified, an abuse which must be done away with. Among the Continental peoples there exists, as opposed to England, an essential community of interests, to which it is an urgent want of state law, by convention, to give a real solidarity. Great Britain, on the other hand, having its centre of gravity not on our continent, but in India, is opposed to the Continental European community, and hence disqualified from exercising the right of voting in our Continental internal affairs." You are accused of fomenting all wars in Europe. "If the British ministers and diplomats," continues the author, "at the conclusion of peace, carry their point and satisfy their British-Indian desires, military power will increase in all Europe, civil liberty will be crushed, Austria and Italy will infallibly be driven to public bankruptcy." According to the dictum "*fas est ab hoste*," &c., you and your readers will, no doubt, after these startling specimens, be induced to procure the pamphlet, so as to benefit, by its teachings. I only report, without passing any judgment. Du Bois Raymond's, the present Rector of the Berlin University, address 'On the German War, delivered at the Public Hall of the University, August 3, 1870,' is just out, and well worth perusing. On the principal question of the day we have two pamphlets just issued. One by Duncker & Humblot (Leipzig), entitled 'Alsace and Lorraine, a Chapter from the Statistics of Annexation and Nationality,' by Prof. Dr. A. Wagner; and another by Kröner, (Stuttgart), 'Alsace and Lorraine are, and remain, Ours,' by Wolfgang Menzel.

Here are the concluding lines of Grosse's ode, mentioned in a previous letter:—

Auf die Kniee, Frankreich!
Eissen wirst du nun
Von den Jahrhunderten
Die namenlose Blutschuld.
Gefüllt längst die Schalen sind
Zermalmenden Zorns aufstehender Völker,
Der geöffnet die Schleusen
Unabsehbaren Kriege.
Von den Zukenden Schultern
Wird man dir reissen
Den geschändeten Purpur!
Im Staub an den Haaren
Wird man dich schleifen
Zum Altar der Menschlichkeit,
Die du verneigst!
Barfuss im Büsserhemd
Sollst du am Pranger
Stehen der Freiheit,
Ehrlös geächtigt
Mit schimpflichem Brandmal,
Verworfen vor Gott
Und den Völkern der Erde!

All the scientific meetings appointed to be held this year, such as the Philological and that of Herbartians, that were to take place in this town, and that of the Naturalists, that was to be held at Rostock, are postponed till next year. D. A.

THE EXILE'S RETURN.

40, Hauteville, Guernsey, Sept. 8, 1870.

ON the night of the 11th of December, 1851, M. Victor Hugo left Paris, flying for his life from the authors of the *Coup d'État*. He reached the Belgian frontier in safety, although a reward was offered for his capture, and his likeness placarded at all the railway stations to assist his recognition. M. Charles Hugo, his son, has some months since published in the *feuilleton* of *Le Rappel* a dramatic relation of this night's journey, and the providential accident (for it was nothing more) by which his father escaped detection at Valenciennes, on the Northern Railway. Since that eventful date the illustrious exile has resided in the Channel Islands, principally in Guernsey, from whence most of his latter works have been issued, viz.: in 1853, 'Les Châtiments'; 1856, 'Les Contemplations'; 1859, 'La Légende des Siècles.' In 1862 appeared his famous 'Les Misérables'; 1864, 'William

Shakspeare'; 1865, 'Les Chansons des Rues et des Bois'; 1866, 'Les Travailleurs de la Mer'; 1869, 'L'Homme qui rit.'

The author's last work, just completed and in the hands of the publishers, will probably be the last dated from Hauteville House: it is entitled 'Les quatre vents de l'Esprit,' and will be brought out by publishers different from those who have hitherto enjoyed the monopoly of producing his works. On the 15th of July last, as all the world knows, France declared war against Germany. For the succeeding month Hauteville House became a dépôt for the reception, collection and despatch of hospital requirements, necessities and luxuries for the relief of the wounded of both nations. On the 15th of August, the steam packet Brittany carried away from Guernsey Victor Hugo and his fortunes, his son Charles and family, and his companions in exile, Madame Drouet and M. Duverdiér. On the 5th of September Victor Hugo arrived in Paris, after an exile of eighteen years and nine months. Faithful to France, to Paris, and to Liberty, he has come forward to the assistance of his country in her last extremity of distress. S. P. OLIVER.

PARIS AND THE WAR.

Paris, Sept. 12, 1870.

EVENTS have marched rapidly since my last letter, and yet there is strange contradictory feeling of impatience, or rather of doubt and restlessness. The enemy has been so long coming—every day counts for a week at least, in our present state of excitement—that a querulous kind of desire is evincing that if he is really coming, he would come at once, and put an end to our suspense. For several days we have been in the expectation of being isolated in the midst of Europe, of being cut off from our neighbours, of living in the midst of fire and smoke, and not having the poor consolation of knowing what others think of our position, or of communicating our troubles to them. Feelings are strangely mixed, inconsistent and changeable, but this is not to be wondered at, seeing that we are living in a new condition, all the organization of civilized society broken up, and waiting for the unknown with serious forebodings.

The proclamation of the Republic has brought home all the exiles for conscience sake, and it is natural that they should give proof of their presence. M. Edgar Quinet has addressed a letter to the people of France and Germany, and Victor Hugo addresses the German people in his own picturesque, characteristic fashion. If command of language made the statesman, Victor Hugo would be in the first rank. The following are morsels from his impassioned appeal:—"L'Allemagne déferait l'Europe en mutilant la France? L'Allemagne déferait l'Europe en détruisant Paris? Réfléchissez. Pourquoi cette invasion? Pourquoi cet effort sauvage contre un peuple frère? Qu'est-ce que nous vous avons fait? Cette guerre, est-ce qu'elle vient de nous? C'est l'empire qui l'a voulue, c'est l'empire qui l'a faite. Il est mort. C'est bien. Nous n'avons rien de commun avec ce cadavre. Il est le passé, nous sommes l'avenir. Il est la haine, nous sommes la sympathie. Il est la trahison, nous sommes la loyauté. Il est Capoue et Gomorrah, nous sommes la France. . . . Est-ce que nous disons ceci pour vous intimider? Non, certes! on ne vous intimide pas, Allemands. Vous avez eu Galgacus contre Rome et Kerner contre Napoléon. Nous sommes le peuple de la Marseillaise, mais vous êtes le peuple des *Sonnets Cuirassés* et du *Cri de l'Épée*. Vous êtes cette nation de penseurs qui devient au besoin une légion de héros. Vos soldats sont dignes des nôtres; les nôtres sont la bravoure impassible; les vôtres sont la tranquillité intrépidité. . . . Maintenant, j'ai dit, Allemands, si vous persistez, soit; vous êtes avertis, faites, allez, attaquez la muraille de Paris. Sous vos bombes et vos mitrailles, elle se défendra. Quant à moi, vieillard, j'y serai, sans armes. Il me convient d'être avec les peuples qui meurent; je vous plains d'être avec les rois qui tuent."

Madame George Sand was not the man to be silent either, but sent a short pithy note, containing another—one for 1,000 francs—a contribution to

the patriotic subscription for the national defence!

M. Charles Joliet has published what he calls 'Le Livre Noir, bilan de l'Empire,' and it must be confessed that his ink is of solid blackness. After a very black sketch, not relieved by a touch of colour, of the imperial institution, the army, diplomacy and finance, the writer concludes his estimate in the following terms:—"Travaux Publics.—Reconstruction stratégique de Paris en casernes. Littérature, Beaux-Arts, Sciences.—L'Art, la Science et la Politique marchent au pas. En Peinture, la Photographie. En Sculpture, des imitations et la Photo-sculpture. En Architecture, des casernes et des églises en pâtisserie. En Musique, la *Belle Hélène*. En Poésie, des cantates. Les Journaux étouffés parlent dans le vide. Les Livres sont soumis à la Commission de l'Index. Le Théâtre et le Roman sont paralysés. On laisse circuler des platitudes et des ordures; mais on condamne les libres-penseurs. On autorise les fées, on proscribit le répertoire de Victor Hugo."

The acts of the new Government are quick and sharp, as they must be at such a moment; and that they are radical will surprise no one. In the first place, the contents of the museums and all other property of whatever kind, known heretofore under the name of *biens de la liste civile*, return to the State. All property designated as belonging to the *domaine privé* is sequestered, and to be administered without prejudice either to the State or the rights of third parties. The press is relieved from the stamp, and declared free. The professions of printing, publishing, and bookselling are declared open to all the world, the only condition being that books shall bear the printers' names. The re-naming of streets is being proceeded with. I am glad to find that the miserable affair of Auteuil is not to be commemorated, and that the new avenue commenced opposite the Opera-house is not to be named after Victor Noir, but called the *Avenue de la République* or du *Peuple*. The old *Rue d'Angoulême*, which some time since was re-named after the late Duc de Morny, is to become the *Rue MacMahon*.

We feared but yesterday not only that the circulation of the newspapers would cease beyond Paris, but that even their publication would be stopped, for want of paper and printers. *Galvani* was compelled to appear with a half-sheet only; and notice was actually given by the authorities to the journals that they must be prepared for the stoppage of their supplies of paper. It is to be hoped that late events may put an end to these fears, or at any rate that good stocks of paper will now be laid in.

One of the most piquant events is the seizure, or rather finding, of an immense mass of Imperial correspondence, and the Government has ordered it to be collated and published by a Committee, of which M. Jules Claretie is appointed Secretary. It is not stated whether the manuscript treasures include copies of the Imperial letters, or only those received; but even the latter will afford a rich treat for the curious.

Men of letters were amongst the most forward in tendering their services to the nation, even before the proclamation of the Republic, but a certain number of literary men are known to have quitted Paris for a safer haven; and the *Reveil*, the *Gaulois*, and other journals threaten to publish the names of all the *émigrés*—ominous word! When they have done this, they should confer the same attention on the Imperialists and the *nouveaux riches*; they will find ample occupation in the compilation of such lists. M. Alexandre Weill—ill in London from a fall from an omnibus, and, as he says, ill too with rage—sends a hundred francs for the wounded and suffering, and adds,—"Not being able to fight (I shall be sixty years of age in three months, and have two fingers of my right hand broken), I undertake to devote to my unfortunate and courageous compatriots the produce of all my literary labours while I live, and to leave at my death all that remains to me of my own fortune which the law permits me to dispose of." He adds a very sensible warning to his fellow

Republicans: "If they will remain united—one behind the other, and not all in front—everything will be saved."

The following extract from the *Moniteur des Arts* gives a sad picture of the state of the country: "We think it our duty to warn all artists that it is dangerous at the present moment to make any drawings, sketches, or studies after nature in any part of the territory of France. The peasants fancy they see Prussian spies everywhere. One of our friends, a highly-esteemed artist, narrowly escaped passing *un mauvais quart d'heure* the other day in a village in Normandy. Fortunately, he was rescued by an innkeeper who knew him; but the danger is too great to be pleasant." Fontainebleau is a favourite resort of artists, many of whom reside there permanently, but the approach of the enemy has driven them away, for the town is in the very centre of the Forest, and if the latter were to be on fire, either by design or accident, the consequences might be frightful; one artist of our acquaintance has thus been compelled to move to Paris with a large family, and he is only one amongst many. The loss occasioned by such a flitting is serious to those who live by their brush.

Education is likely to suffer as much as Literature, Science, and Art; all the schools are empty, and as the Lycées have been converted into temporary hospitals, it is probable that the vacation will be prolonged till the war is ended.

The streets of Paris have already begun to show signs of municipal disorganization, but the new Government has at once recognized the urgency of centralizing—if such a word is permitted to be used under a republic—the various services connected with the public health and cleanliness, and has appointed a Central Commission of eight members. There exists at present in Paris a sanitary commission for each *arrondissement*, a council for the department of the Seine, and a commission of inquiry into the salubrity of dwellings; these are all to correspond directly with the new Central Commission, which will report to the Government. The new body includes M. Sainte-Claire Deville, M. Boucharlat, and two physicians.

The Chemical Society of Paris has offered the Government its assistance in the manufacture of munitions of war and means of defence; the offer is signed by M. Bertelot and twenty-seven other members.

The *gourmets* who dare show themselves are in despair. September has arrived, and not a pheasant, partridge, or plover in the shops or restaurants—unless they lie *perdus*: there is no powder to spare for such trifles, and he who can shoulder a gun is called upon to bring down other game. The poulterers' shops are empty, but the ambulances are full; man preys on man, and the minor animals are left undisturbed.

When facts are drawn from imagination the results are curious. A journalist here says, that although the pictures of the Louvre are in safety, there are certain columns (of marble, I presume,) which have taken the fancy of Messieurs les Prussiens, who reclaim them as their own. This is only amusing; but when he adds that there are four other objects in the Louvre over which they claim a right, we take the liberty of reminding him that the less he says upon that subject the better: we have heard that there were more than four articles in the Louvre which were overlooked about half a century ago. Silence is gold! and pictures are worth their weight in the metal.

The Observatory has taken the precaution of placing its precious instruments in the cellars of the building; and the suburban communes have been instructed to put their archives in cases and deposit them at the Tribunal of Commerce; the grand archives of the nation are doubtless placed in safety, as are the valuables of the Cluny Museum; but much anxiety is felt about the collections of the Bibliothèque Impériale, manuscripts, books, medals and curiosities. Perhaps they have already been placed in safety, or at least the most important of them; the whole literary world is concerned in this question, which has been mooted here, and waits reply.

The tree of Liberty has gone out of fashion; one, however, has been set up on the Place du Château d'Eau, and another on the Place de Clichy. The former is a small poplar, the branches of which are covered with flags and flowers, while at its foot stands a basket and box to receive contributions for the wounded. The other tree was planted by the Gardes Mobiles, who brought it themselves from St. Maur. It stands within six feet of the new monument in honour of Marshal Moncey. On the base of the monument is a placard, with the inscription, "République Occidentale—Ordre et Progrès." An eagle, sculptured in bas-relief on the granite base, has its head covered with a thick plaster of mud. The theatres are closed; even the representations for the benefit of the wounded and the families of soldiers have been set aside. The closing of the Théâtre Français was announced in a letter, signed by Madeleine Brohan, Marie Favart, Clémentine Jouassain, and Edile Riquier:—"The Comédie Française, upon which circumstances have impressed a new duty, has conceived the idea of transforming its saloon into an ambulance: it invites all its friends to aid it to carry out the plan. Beds and bedding, lint, wine, and money will all be accepted in the form of gifts or loans. There is great suffering, but not greater than the sympathy it inspires, and we ask, in confidence, for assistance when it is wanted in the cause of those who have suffered while defending the soil of our country." The Cirque Napoléon and the Cirque de l'Impératrice, which have not yet been re-baptized, have been converted into barracks for the Garde Mobile, a purpose for which they are admirably adapted.

As the theatres close, the old grave-yards open. It is announced that in view of the probable siege of Paris, it has been decided that all the closed cemeteries within the fortifications shall be immediately re-opened. One of these silent places is being strangely disturbed; on the top of Montmartre huge cannon are being placed in entrenched works close to the Cemetery. Monster balloons, fettered to earth, rise daily overhead, and are to be used as observatories, while semaphores on the ancient model are prepared to form a line of communication with all the forts surrounding the city, the tree of the semaphore being made to revolve so as to bring it in the plane of observation for any quarter. The dead subscribe towards the aid of the wounded and suffering. Mr. Richard Wallace, who, it is understood, inherits all the personal property of his father, the Marquis of Hertford, has offered the Society for the Succour of the Wounded 300,000 francs for the fitting out of an ambulance, with the sole condition that there shall be inscribed upon it "Ambulance du feu Marquis d'Hertford," and the offer has been accepted with grateful thanks.

Has any one noticed the supposed prophecy of Nostradamus, as given in the Chevalier de Châtelain's 'Ronces et Chardons'?—

Quand le second Empire en Lutèce adviendra
(Ceci n'est pas, las! une facétie!)
Dix-huit ans, moins un quart, pas plus, il ne vivra!
Ainsi le dit dans son grimoire,
En termes clairs, le grand Nostradamus.
Dix-huit ans, moins un quart, et pas un jour de plus,
Vive Nostradamus! vive son répertoire!
Vive Nostradamus! le grand Nostradamus!

The following barrack saw is rather out of date now, but it is a fair specimen of this kind of doggerel:—

COMMANDEMENT DU TROUPIER.

Soldat français, tu quitteras
Tes foyers momentanément.
D'un revers de manche essuieras
Les pleurs, faiblesse d'un moment.
Et vers le Rhin t'élanceras,
Le cœur ferme décidément.
Du Prussien brutal tu voudras
Obtenir dédommagement.
Alors, sur son casque enverras
Des prunes, très adroitement.
Puis, sans pitié, le pourcevras
Jusqu'à Berlin, inclusivement.
Les Prussiennes respecteras,
Enfants, vieillards également.
Et par ainsi démontreras
Nos vertus supérieurement.

—Prunes is slang for bullets; the trooper's virtue is prodigious.

Everything in France has been so completely imperialized that hitches will take place in conversation in spite of all precautions, but we shall get accustomed to the change to *Nationale*; I am told that the top of the omnibus, our knife-board, but neither so sharp, nor usually so gritty, which used to be called the *Impériale*, is already the *Nationale*. Y.

BORMIO TO LUCERNE.

Bormio, Sept. 2, 1870.

BORMIO does not improve on acquaintance. It is too bleak and bare; the walks wherever you venture off the main road are too steep and stony for the invalids whom the baths are to attract, and, except on calm days, the climate is scarcely enjoyable. Whenever a breeze blows it is cold. The great stream of volcanic water which is here poured forth must be efficacious indeed, if it makes up for the want of warmth and shade. The proprietors have done what they can to render the place agreeable by a spacious flower-garden and play-ground; but still few persons (except those whom ill-health compels) would like to stay more than a day or two in a locality which is not half so pretty as it is made to look in the advertising pictures hung up in hotels in the region round about.

From old time the natives have washed their sheep in the hot water, and this right they still exercise. By the roadside, just below the baths, are two pools of rough masonry, each fed by a copious jet of the steaming water, and into these the sheep are tossed and ducked very unceremoniously. They look particularly clean when sundried a few hours afterwards, and are said to be benefited in health. One morning I saw three women standing among the sheep exposing their aching backs and rheumatic arms and shoulders to the rushing jet for half an hour, when they walked out in their dingy wrappers, and dressed under adjacent willows.

Tirano, Sept. 3.

The journey from Bormio to this place is very interesting. You take a farewell look at the savage cliffs and the stony slopes at the rear of the baths; then turning your face in the opposite direction, you travel down with the Adda in its lively course towards sunshine and verdure. Within an hour the road descends to green pastures and big churches. I expressed my surprise at the contrast between the churches and their environment, whereupon the conductor answered with a laugh, "Rich priests—poor people." One of the said priests was trout-fishing, and very comical did he look with both hands at the rod, while his soutane streamed forth behind him on the wind. "Pastore-pescatore," said the conductor as we passed. Another of the spiritual fraternity, who might have sat for a portrait of John Browdie, was tramping along the road with a fowling-piece slung over his shoulder in true sportsman fashion: an example perhaps of the church militant.

The hills on each side of the valley are grand in form and elevation, with here and there a touch of snow on their rocky crests; here and there a waterfall, and more and more of field and forest on their lower slopes. Just below Bolladore chestnut and walnut trees suddenly appear; a little further, and there are vines, and the luxuriance increases until the whole valley looks as if filled with maize and fruit-bearing trees, while the vines mount the hills to an astonishing height. "Buono vino qui," said the conductor, who had an apt word for every occasion.

The valley broadens at Tirano, and the view as you descend to the town is very pleasing: the teeming plain stretching away into a greenish-blue distance, the river flowing in the midst, between leagues of vines and white church-towers conspicuous in the verdure. Here grows the fruit which is served for dessert at the baths of Bormio, and here during the winter months is the limit of the diligence journey upwards.

It is perhaps worth notice that while other parts of Italy have been overdone with rain, but very

little has fallen in the Valtellina. Dust lay pretty thick in the roads about Tirano; but lower down must have been intolerable, for the conductor, who longed for rain, said it was six inches thick between Sondrio and Colico.

From Tirano to Poschiavo is a journey of nearly three hours up a very steep side valley, called Puschlav by those who speak German. So rapid is the ascent that the vines are soon left behind, but the plots of remarkably large-leaved tobacco continue to a considerable elevation. At Campo Cologno the frontier is crossed into the canton of Graubünden; the Swiss soldier who stood there at the door of the Custom House took no further notice of us than to touch his cap as we passed. On the first level lies the pretty green lake of Le Prese, which abounds with trout, and is overlooked at its upper end by an hotel and bath establishment. Rowing, fishing, pure air, mountain walks, and lounging under trees are the inducements it offers to visitors.

Pontresina, Sept. 4.

The Post (Crocce Bianca) at Poschiavo is a good house, and convenient for the early start which the *Postwagen* for the Engadine makes therefrom—four in the morning! Hard work for the *Kellnerin*, who, during the summer gets not more than from three to four hours' sleep each night. Of course, it is cold at starting, and on arrival at the zigzags you are glad to get out and walk, up, up, into the desert of the Bernina, where nothing is to be seen but a broad expanse of stony slopes and summits. Were they not relieved at this season by the varied colours of the scanty vegetation they would be dreary indeed. As if Nature wished to make amends, some of the patches, crimson, green and yellow, are exquisitely beautiful, spread on the dark grey ground.

The same kind of scenery continues beyond the summit and down into the Engadine. The hospice declares itself by an inscription, in two languages: *Dieu et Patrie—Ospizio Bernina*. Soon, on the left as you descend, appear the grand snow summits of the Bernina range, and in about five hours from Puschlav you come to Pontresina.

Here, sojourning at the *Krone*, was the largest company of English folk I had seen for many days. Among them were Lady —, with her daughters and friends, who, on two evenings, entertained the other guests with excellent singing: a rare treat under the circumstances. How the servants of the house and the villagers crowded about the door of the dining-room to listen! One of the evenings being Sunday, we had the advantage of sacred music. But the next day there was a great departure, and therewith went the gracious vocalists.

Pontresina (Bridge of Fir-trees) is a bleak-looking place, but with more wood and a greater variety of walks than Bormio. Three frosty mornings and a snow-fall on the hills have occurred during my stay; and, remembering what delightful spots there are at high elevations round about Lucerne and in the region of the Oberland, I am at a loss to account for the great favour into which Pontresina has so suddenly grown. It seems to me a place for a day or two, not for weeks and months. A rich Engadiner is, however, building a large, handsome hotel at the lower end of the village, commanding a fine view of the Rosatch glacier and the snow-peaks behind it; so he evidently expects wealthy visitors for years to come.

There is a pleasant walk through the fir-forest to St. Moritz, a place that seems likely to be overbuilt, and where fancy rents are asked for a house for the season. It is enlivened by a lake bordered by a stony footpath and a fir-wood, which must be pleasant on a hot day. The huge *Kurhaus* on a windy flat looks melancholy and comfortless; and one might think that invalids who can bear the climate must have a strong constitution. Between this and the village is now in course of building an English church, which looks as if it would be ornamental as well as useful. This church was to have been built at Pontresina, but the price there demanded for land was so excessive as to prevent. This is characteristic of the Engadine, where land-owners ask prices for plots with as little regard to

the amount of rent, the real value, or the rules of arithmetic, as the Laird of Glengyle, of ludicrous memory in association with the Glasgow water-works. A man at Silvaplana asked 15,000 francs for a ruinous old house that was not worth 2,000. Another let his house to a Russian Count for the season for 8,000 francs: at the end of a month, the climate proving too cold for the Countess, the house was given up, but no money returned. Then a second tenant took it, and paid 5,000 francs. He also departed before the expiration of his term, and left the keen owner to let it for the remainder of the season for 1,500 francs. The original cost of the house was not more than 26,000 francs. The Engadiner appear to be the Scotchmen of Switzerland. They may, perhaps, plead in excuse the example set by the *Direction des Postes*, who from June to September double the fares for all their public conveyances. Travel from Samaden to Chur after the 1st of October and you will pay about 10 francs, not 19'80.

The ascent of Pitz Languard, more than 10,000 feet, though a stiff climb, is well worth the trouble. I was on the summit three hours on a very fine day, and beheld a view which, if very glorious, is very grim. It is perfectly panoramic, and you may judge of its extent by this: I saw from the Gross Glockner to Monte Rosa, from the peaks of the Oberland to the Ortler, and thence to the Adamello.

Chur, Sept. 5.

The youthful Inn, flowing through a chain of lakes, is a bright sparkling stream until near Samaden, where the muddy Flatzbach from the Pontresina glaciers pours in and fouls it for ever. Its brightness enlivens the drive to Silvaplana, where the ascent of the Julier begins. This pass has the same wildness of aspect as the Bernina, and on its hither slope is far less pleasing than the Albula, which, as I saw while walking down it last year, has reaches of great beauty. The two roads meet in the deep hole, Tiefenkasten, whence the greatly over-praised Schyn Pass leads to the over-praised Via Mala. Having walked through both also last year, I now chose the route over Churwalden, and up, up we went once more, and into a great forest, where the moonlight glistened among the trees, and where a number of passengers alighted, for Churwalden is becoming a place of resort, and very cool and pleasant it must be, with so many sheltered walks around it. It has the further advantage of being near a railway accessible by an hour's drive down bold zigzags to Chur.

Lucerne, Sept. 8.

As you approach Zug on the way hither, there is seen high on the green mountain beyond the town a large white building, which is, I am told, a newly-built hotel named Felsenegg, where good air and water, bright sunshine, and other enjoyments may be had. At present it is known to few besides natives, who can live there economically; and it adds one more to the houses of entertainment built in high situations. Those are the places where, with proper diet and nothing to do, an over-worked brain may best recover its tone.

Lucerne is improving. The new bridge, leading directly across from the railway station to the broad road in front of the range of hotels, is nearly finished, and is already open to foot passengers. It is a solid, handsome stone structure; and, not least among its merits, it cuts off the long, troublesome round through narrow streets which travellers on wheels have at present to take. The old foot-bridge, with its ups and downs and quaint paintings, is to be pulled down, by which the town will lose one of its most picturesque features. On the other hand, it gains by the erection of new houses and shops near the quay, in a style rivalling that of the hotels.

Here also the effect of the war is seen and felt. It is melancholy to see the train of empty omnibuses come from the station three or four times a day, and the scanty number of visitors at the *table d'hôte*. Last year at this time, mine host of the *Hôtel du Cygne* was so crowded with guests that during a fortnight he did not send his omnibus to the railway, having no room for more. Now he is glad to send it to every train, even when he knows that

it may come back empty. "All because of the war."

I went up to Fleulen yesterday, for the sake of the trip. The day was bright and warm, but as soon as we came near the Bay of Uri we met a gale—a hot wind—the Swiss sirocco blowing furiously. So vehemently did the waves beat on the shore that the steamer could not put into Brunnen, and had to land passengers for that place at Treib, on the opposite side of the lake. Two ladies were seasick, and others much frightened. The foam was blown across the surface in great white sheets, and therein were produced countless dancing rainbows, beautiful to behold. On our return, some three hours later, we passed as suddenly out of the gale as we had passed into it, and all the lower end of the lake was calm. I had often doubted whether such a storm could prevail on the Lake of Lucerne as is described in the history of Tell's escape; but now I have seen a storm in which a small boat unskillfully managed would have been in great peril.

The hot wind is always followed by rain, hence this day has been cloudy and showery; otherwise this letter would, perhaps, not have been written.

The Rigi railway is actually in progress, and is, so it is said, to be finished in about two months. Its starting-place is Vitznau, a landing station beyond Weggis, as many of your readers will remember, and thence it is to mount by zigzags to the summit. It is already available for half an hour's journey.

W. W.

Mr. Tuckett writes to us to say, that our correspondent, W. W., is wrong in attributing to him the first successful ascent of the Crinon della Pala from Paneveggio. "His perusal," says Mr. Tuckett, "of the note in the stranger's book at that charming mountain inn must have been rather hasty, as I am quite sure that no such statement 'stands recorded' there."

"The glory of conquering this very difficult and wonderful peak belongs entirely to my friend and companion, Mr. E. R. Whitwell, aided, as he would be the first to acknowledge, by the skill of our guides, Christian Lauener, of Lauterbrunnen, and Santo Siropaes, of Cortina d'Ampezzo."

"It is true that we had, a few days previously, attacked it together from S. Martino di Castrozza, on the other side of the pass, but only succeeded in gaining an *aiguille* to the south-east of and about 300 feet below the highest point, from which we were cut off by an impassable chasm, and therefore had to return. My friend, however, more plucky and hopeful than me, besides being a better cragsman, determined to make another attempt from Paneveggio *via* Val Travignolo; and whilst I ingloriously strolled up to the summit of the Boche Berg, behind the inn—a point well deserving the attention of future visitors—he gallantly assaulted the north-east face of the Crinon della Pala, and, after twice reaching the final 'kamm' only to find that a still higher point, inaccessible along the ridge itself, rose out of it to his left, finally had the satisfaction of attaining the actual summit, after a very stiff and arduous climb. The mountain is an attenuated Matterhorn, and ranks next in height amongst the Dolomites to the Marmolata, which probably surpasses it by little more than 100 feet; but unless some easier route be discovered, which is scarcely probable, it is not, I suspect, likely to become popular, or to be often attacked with success."

Literary Gossip.

CONSIDERABLE curiosity has been expressed regarding Prof. Jowett's 'Plato.' We are able to give the following particulars. The book, which will be in four thick octavo volumes, will contain a translation of all the works of Plato; and to each dialogue will be prefixed an introduction of considerable length. The work has occupied the new Master of Balliol for many years, and has been submitted by him

for revision to several scholars of eminence: it may be expected before the end of 1870.

WE are glad to hear that the author of 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland' has a new book in the press, called 'Through the Looking-Glass.' It will be very copiously illustrated by Mr. Tenniel. The title indicates the nature of the work.

MR. S. C. HALL is engaged on 'A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age,' with whom he has been personally acquainted.

WE have received from Madame de Gasparin a vigorous and eloquent denunciation of war, in the form of a poem, called 'La Chanson des Vautours.'

A CORRESPONDENT, desirous to show that the Captain Rainsborrow (or rather Rainsborowe) (*Athen.* 2237), who was a candidate for Aldeburgh in 1639, belongs further to history, informs us that the Captain was Admiral of the Fleet which was sent against Sallee in 1636. His appointment, letters, memorial, the instructions he received and those he gave to his fleet, have been calendared by Mr. Bruce, who writes the Captain's name as Rainsborough. The most notable service performed by his son Thomas, naval and military captain in the service of the Parliament, was the taking of Croyland Abbey, a formidable Royalist garrison, by a fleet of boats. Thomas was killed in an attempt made to make him prisoner at Doncaster, in 1648.

SOME of the daily papers, in commenting on the presentation of the freedom of their borough to Mr. Macmillan by the Town Council of Irvine, attribute the love of literature displayed by the people of Irvine to their recollections of Burns. It is natural that surprise should be excited by any people being found in this country to confer an honour on a publisher: we leave such things to the benighted nations of the Continent; but it should be remembered that Irvine was the native place of the great novelist Galt and of James Montgomery.

THE Germans have sent Dr. Harless, the keeper of the State Archives at Düsseldorf, and an assistant, to collect all documents relating to German cities that are to be found in the archives of Alsace and Lorraine.

A NEWSPAPER published at Turin, *Il Baretti*, has announced that it will give to the public a number of hitherto unpublished letters of Ugo Foscolo.

M. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, the well-known French Protestant *pasteur*, has contributed to the *Débats* a most readable account of Marshal MacMahon's march and the battles near Sedan. M. de Pressensé accompanied an ambulance as a chaplain.

A TRANSLATION of Mr. Disraeli's 'Lothair,' in parts, is passing through the press in Holland. The translator is Mr. A. H. Verster. Among translations from the English which have recently appeared in that country, are—Thackeray's 'Pendennis'; Garibaldi's 'Rule of the Monk,' from the English edition; 'Catherine St. Quentin,' translated by Mr. Van Westheene; Miss E. S. Phelps's 'Light through the Gloom'; Mr. Ward Beecher's 'Norwood'; Mr. J. Gardner's 'Religions of the World,' adapted to Holland; 'Faith Gartney's Girlhood,' by Mr. C. E. Busken Huet; a new

translation of 'Robinson Crusoe'; Captain Marryat's 'Midshipman Easy'; and Mr. Whyte Melville's 'M or N.'

THE distinguished authoress, Princess Dora D'Istria, has been elected an Honorary Fellow of the Hellenikos Philologikos Sullogos. A very interesting article by her on the 'Songs of Hungary' appears in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

HERR GUSTAV VON STRUVE, who recently died at Vienna, was one of the most popular publicists of Germany, and the author also of many works on History and Public Law. Originally an adherent of the moderate Constitutional party, during the Baden Revolution he headed democratic risings, and after the storming of Staufen was very near being executed together with Herr Karl Blind, his associate in the provisional government. Struve fought in the American War on the side of the Union, and he then went over to Germany with an appointment as U.S. Consul, for which, however, the *exequatur* was refused by the Ducal Court to which he was accredited. The German papers publish a poem by Struve, a political adaptation of the 'Erl-König,' written on January 1st, 1870, which contains a strange prophecy of the fall of the Napoleonic dynasty: an event the deceased was not destined to see.

THE Decrees and Ordinances of the city of Delft, from 1500 to 1536, have been printed from two MSS., under the care of Mr. J. Soutendam, being an addition to our stock of municipal materials.

WE learn from the *Allgemeine Zeitung* the death of Dr. Ameis, of Mühlhausen, well known for his admirable school edition of the *Odyssey*, and for his edition of the *Græcæ Bucolic Poets* in the Didot series. Dr. Ameis was one of the first Homeric critics of the age.

AMONGST the different papers on interesting subjects in the *Rivista Europea* for September we note an article by Prof. Augusto Pierantoni, on 'Rivers as Boundaries of States, and the International Convention of Mannheim'; a contribution by Signor G. B. Michellini, 'Tommaso Calvetti and the Piedmontese Revolution of 1821'; and a spirited *carne*, 'La Guerra,' a poem on the present war, by Signor G. T. Cimino, the author of the admired poetical *novella*, entitled 'Padre e Figlia.'

THE Minister of Public Instruction in Italy has, during the last few months, sent to the National Library of Florence more than 200 volumes and pamphlets, printed and lithographed at Cairo by Signor Castelli, who has presented them to the Italian Government for that purpose. During eighteen years Signor Castelli has published in his establishment at Cairo more works in the Arabian language than many Italian editors have published in Italian during the same period of time.

AN extremely interesting and well-written account of the Makah Indians, by Mr. J. G. Swan, lies entombed in the last volume of that much-neglected series, the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*. The Makahs live on Cape Flattery, at the entrance to the Strait of Fuca, opposite Vancouver Island. Mr. Swan resided among them for several years in the capacity of Teacher and Dispenser of Medicines under the Government of the United States.

A 'History of Cuba' is announced from the pen of Señor Pezuela.

MR. C. R. COOKE has been appointed Principal of that now important institution and school of oriental learning, the Punjab University College at Lahore.

WITH regard to the translation of the Granth, it appears that parties in India, dissatisfied with the Government plan, have set on foot another translation. This is to be accomplished by the local Aujuman, a society which has already rendered good literary service.

FROM Ceylon we learn that the Government is about to establish a good Pali library, and in this they have the co-operation of Mr. James D'Alwis, who has collected a large number of MSS., and who has in the press a catalogue in two volumes.

ROYAL POLYTECHNIC.—Prof. Pepper's New Lecture, showing how the marvellous GHOST EFFECTS are produced.—New Musical Entertainment, by Mr. Suchet Champion, 'DER FREISCHÜTZ'—Sand and the Suez Canal.—American Organ daily.—The whole for One Shilling.

SCIENCE

The Lifted and Subsid Rocks of America and their Influences on the Oceanic, Atmospheric, and Land Currents, and the Distribution of Races. By George Catlin. (London, Trübner & Co.)

MR. CATLIN is troubled in mind about the formation of Mountains and the Origin of the Gulf Stream. It is his object in this work to put forward right scientific views on both these subjects. In his travels he seems to have witnessed many marvellous sights, and as the result of his observations, entertains many startling opinions. The strangest opinion of all is, that the oceanic current known as the Gulf Stream, is the effect of the passing into the Atlantic Ocean of the "sub-montagne" drainage—we use the author's expression—of the Rocky Mountains and the Andes. The author derides the theories advanced by preceding writers, and notably those of Admiral Maury and Sir John Herschel. Rightly to appreciate the Gulf Stream hypothesis, we must briefly consider the author's account of the formation of Mountain Chains. Mr. Catlin gives, by way of preliminary discourse, a strictly impartial jeer at all previous theories in orography. He then propounds his own hypothesis, which, so far as we can gather, is, that every mountain or chain of mountains whatever, has been upheaved by a single cataclysmic impulse. The upheaving cause has been the action of intense heat on water, producing explosive bursts of steam. The results of these violent convulsions are "lifted" mountains. There is, however, a class of "subsid mountains," i. e., those which have mysteriously disappeared into the hidden recesses of the globe. The subsidence of mountains "into their own beds, and disappearing in a lake," appears to have happened frequently, and upon a stupendous scale. Mr. Catlin adduces, as an example, the "group of the great lakes" which, we are told, occupy the site of an old mountain range. It is affirmed that all mountain elevations have been uplifted, and that "man's reason decides, without the necessity of proof, that all mountains uplifted vacate a space in their deserted beds equal to the space of atmosphere which their summits displace above the surface level." Mr. Catlin very skillfully evades the task of proving this assertion, by stating it to embody an axiomatic truth, which may, therefore, "be safely assumed as basis for opinions" subsequently advanced. We thus have in North and South America two large "sub-montagne" tanks sloping, it luckily so happens, towards the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, the respective estuaries of these enormous, and it seems to us, utterly mythical underground rivers. The rushing out of these waters is the origin of the Gulf Stream. This is the whole theory. Herschel and Maury discuss the effects of the trade-winds, and of a dynamical power residing in the difference of specific gravities of intertropical and polar seas,

&c., causes which are admitted by all to exist; the only question being that of their adequacy to the results. Mr. Catlin, with unsurpassed temerity, appeals to causes, the existence of which most, we imagine, will deny, and the adequacy of which, if they existed, few would admit. Mr. Catlin professes to be an artist and traveller, rather than a geologist; but we do not think that his manifest bewilderment at the phenomena in physical geography which he has beheld in his wanderings, in any way justifies him in advancing wild and untenable notions about the natural changes that have produced them—notions so bizarre as scarcely to deserve serious refutation. In one point we cordially agree with Mr. Catlin, namely, in his indignant protest against the wrongs inflicted upon the Indian tribes by the march of civilization—a euphonism apparently for the progress of the whisky-seller.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

Liverpool, Sept. 14, 1870.

NOTHING more wretched than the down-pour of rain with heavy gusts of wind yesterday could be conceived as the prospect for the coming gathering; but the moon rose in silvery brightness and chased the storm-clouds away; and nothing is more lovely at this time of the year than the bright sunshine of to-day. The magnificent buildings, the wide and busy thoroughfares, were pictures of animation, and Bold Street was crowded with belles and Lord Street with beaux. The noble railway station in Lime Street is faced by the truly magnificent St. George's Hall, and straight over the way is the fine Free Library, now turned into a Reception-Room for the members of the British Association.

Between rows of white statues are the booking-stalls for tickets and excursions, and out of it the stairs lead to the lecture-room, where the first general meeting was held, at one o'clock. Prof. Stokes, as the existing President, took the chair; and between the Anthropologists' cravings for a special Section, and some delicate mutterings against the new rules for admitting members to the General Committee, there was high promise of a storm; but the "witching hour," not of the night, but of the unveiling of the Gladstone statue, caused, by a general up-rising, the most pacific terminations, or rather finished off matters with no proper ending at all. At three o'clock, by the invitation of the Mayor, all the members of the Association were admitted to the gorgeous interior of St. George's Hall. Amidst the pealing of the grandest of organs, and the braying of trumpets, the Mayor (W. Hubback, Esq.), preceded by the Mace and followed by the Sword, was marshalled to the stand beside the great entrance, whence he addressed the vast concourse in stentorian tones, which might have conveyed the finest sentiments to the audience, if the malicious echoes would have permitted his words to have been intelligible. On the right of the door stands a splendidly-executed statue to the late Earl of Derby, the respect for whose memory was evinced at a mere allusion, and followed by one of the heartiest bursts of applause. The statue of the Premier occupies the left niche; but it cannot be compared with that on the other side of the doorway either in execution or design. The full-face aspect fronts the body of the hall, and consequently takes an even tone of light, which gives it a demure, puritanical, flat look, totally in contrast with the vigorous form and pointedly-shadowed face of the Earl; and the contrast is still more detrimentally heightened by the bad quality of the marble of which the figure is cut—great blue veins crossing and recrossing the body and drapery of the statue. The allusions to the prosperous rise of the Gladstone family were delicately touched upon, and excited universal sympathy; but neither on the unveiling of the monument nor on the close of the addresses by Profs. Huxley and Rolleston was any large amount of enthusiasm displayed. Cheering there was, loud and lusty; but large numbers maintained a stolid and inert attitude. Later in the afternoon, crowds of working men flocked into the

hall to see the new artistic addition to the architectural glory of Liverpool.

Returning to the reception-room the crowds were as dense as ever, and the luxurious reading-room placed at the service of the members was fully as closely packed. Tickets of all classes were up to the strike of eight in full demand, and the numbers which at two o'clock had reached to 2,222, representing 2,435*l.*, had risen to 2,469 when the declaration was made to the meeting in the Philharmonic Hall previous to the President's Address.

That the congress of 1870 will be a glorious and a memorable one seems now assured.

At the General Meeting, before the minutes of the previous Meeting were confirmed, Dr. King handed in a memorial, asking for a special Section for Ethnology and Anthropology. Prof. Hirst stated that means had been taken to expand Section D. into two Sub-Sections, if that Section should think it desirable.

The minutes were then confirmed, and the Report of the Council was read.

Report of the Council.

"The Council have received the usual Reports from the General Treasurer and from the Kew Committee. Their Reports for the past year will be laid before the General Committee this day.

"The Council have to report upon the action they have taken relative to each of the four resolutions referred to them by the General Committee at Exeter.

"The first of these resolutions was—'That the Council be requested to take into their consideration the existing relations between the Kew Committee and the British Association.'

"The Council accordingly appointed a Committee of their own body to examine into these relations. This Committee had before them a special Report drawn up by the Kew Committee, and, after due deliberation, they recommended—'That the existing relations between the Kew Observatory and the British Association be continued unaltered until the completion, in 1872, of the magnetic and solar decennial period; but that after that date all connexion between them shall cease.'

"The Council adopted this recommendation, and now offer it, as their own, to the General Committee.

"The second resolution referred to the Council was as follows:—'That the full influence of the British Association for the Advancement of Science should at once be exerted to obtain the appointment of a Royal Commission, to consider—

'First. The character and value of existing institutions and facilities for scientific investigation, and the amount of time and money devoted to such purposes.

'Secondly. What modifications or augmentations of the means and facilities that are at present available for the maintenance and extension of Science are requisite; and,

'Thirdly. In what manner these can be best supplied.'

"By a third resolution the Council was 'requested to ascertain whether the action of Government in relation to the higher scientific education has been in accordance with the principles of impartiality which were understood to guide them in this matter; and to consider whether that action has been well calculated to utilize and develop the resources of the country for this end, and to favour the free development of the higher scientific education. That the Council be requested to take such measures as may appear to them best calculated to carry out the conclusions to which they may be led by these inquiries and deliberations.'

"The Committee of the Council appointed to consider these two resolutions reported their opinion to be favourable to the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the relations of the State to scientific instruction and investigation; and they added that no such inquiry would, in their opinion, be complete which did not extend itself to the action of the State in relation to scientific education, and the effect of that action upon independent educational institutions.

"Your President and Council, acting on the advice of this Committee, constituted themselves a deputation, and waited upon the Lord President of the Council. They are glad to be able to report that their efforts to bring this important subject before Her Majesty's Government have been attended with success. On the 18th of May, Her Majesty issued a Commission 'to make inquiry with regard to Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science, and to inquire what aid thereto is derived from grants voted by Parliament or from endowments belonging to the several universities in Great Britain and Ireland and the colleges thereof, and whether such aid could be rendered in a manner more effectual for the purpose.' The Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty are the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Sir John Lubbock, Bart., Sir James Phillips Kay Shuttleworth, Bart., Bernhard Samuelson, Esq., M.P., Dr. Sharpey, Prof. Huxley, Dr. W. A. Miller, and Prof. Stokes. J. Norman Lockyer, Esq., F.R.S., has been appointed Secretary to the Commissioners, who, up to last July, were engaged in taking evidence with great assiduity, and have now adjourned their meetings until November. There is every reason to hope that valuable results will follow from their deliberations.

"The fourth resolution which the General Committee referred to the Council was—'That the rules under which members are admitted to the General Committee be reconsidered.' A Committee of the Council devoted considerable care to a revision of the existing rules. The modified rules approved by the Council are now submitted for adoption to the present General Committee, whose constitution is, of course, not affected thereby. The most important of the proposed changes are that henceforth new claims to membership of the General Committee shall be forwarded to the Assistant General Secretary at least one month before the next ensuing Annual Meeting of the Association; that these claims shall be submitted to the Council, whose decision upon them is to be final; and that henceforth it is not the authorship of a paper in the *Transactions* of a scientific society which is alone to constitute a claim to membership of the General Committee, but the publication of any works or papers which have furthered the advancement of any of the subjects taken into consideration at the Sectional Meetings of the Society.

"Your Council has also had under its consideration the desirability of removing certain administrative inconveniences which arise from the circumstance that the next place of meeting is never decided upon by the General Committee until near the close of the actual meeting. They are of opinion that the arrangements of the General Officers would be greatly facilitated, and at the same time the convenience of those who invite the Association consulted, if the General Committee were to decide upon each place of meeting a year earlier than they do at present. In order to make the transition from the existing practice to the proposed one, your Council recommend that two of the invitations which will be received at the present meeting be accepted, one for 1871 and another for 1872.

"It has often been urged that the Association labours under disadvantages in consequence of its not possessing central offices in London, where its Council and numerous committees could hold their meetings, where the books and memoirs which have been accumulating for years could be rendered accessible to Members, and where information concerning the Association's proceedings could be promptly obtained during the interval between annual meetings. The Council have had the subject under consideration, and, in the event of the establishment at Kew being discontinued, they are prepared to recommend that suitable rooms, in a central situation, should be procured. The additional annual expenditure which this would involve would probably not exceed 150*l.*

"The Council having been informed by the Local Officers of their desire to have Mr. Reginald Harrison appointed as an additional Local Secretary, to assist in making arrangements for the pre-

sent meeting, have nominated that gentleman to the office. Mr. Arnold Baruchson and Mr. Wm. Crosfield, jun., have also been nominated Local Treasurers, *vice* Mr. Duckworth, resigned. The Council have added the names of Prof. H. A. Newton and Prof. C. S. Lyman, who were present at the Exeter Meeting, to the list of Corresponding Members."

The adoption of the Council's Report was proposed by Prof. Phillips, of Oxford, who testified to the value of the Kew establishment, and indicated the prospect of its attaining a natural and permanent provision if it were separated from the Association. Mr. Francis Galton seconded the motion. Prof. Rankine proposed an amendment, that a Delegate might take the place of an absent President, and this was embodied in a motion for altering the chair to membership of the General Committee. The amendment in this form was carried.

The Kew Report was then read, as follows:—

Report of the Kew Committee for 1869-70.

THE Committee of the Kew Observatory submit to the Council of the British Association the following statement of their proceedings during the past year:—

At the Meeting of the General Committee at Exeter it was resolved that the existing relations between the Kew Committee and the British Association be referred to the Council to report thereon.

In consequence of this resolution, the Kew Committee on the 23rd of November, 1869, prepared for the information of the Council a statement on the past and present condition of the Observatory, which was presented to the Council on the 11th of December.

In this statement it was shown that while the establishment at Kew Observatory received its main support from the British Association, and was under the control of that body, yet much of the apparatus in use at Kew was furnished from other sources. Thus the Royal Society had from the Government-Grant Fund supplied the establishment with the apparatus for testing Barometers, with that for testing Sextants, with the dividing-machine for constructing Standard Thermometers, and also with the set of Self-recording Magnetographs at present in use, while from the Donation Fund they had furnished the Photoheliograph and the Whitworth lathe and planing-machine.

The Royal Society had likewise defrayed from the Donation Fund the expense of introducing gas into the Observatory, and of building a house for the verification of magnetic instruments, besides which they had borne from the Government-Grant Fund since 1863 the whole expense of working the Photoheliograph (including the purchase of a Chronometer) and of reducing its results.

The instruments used at Kew for determining the absolute magnetic elements are the property of Her Majesty's Government, and have been lent to the Kew Observatory by the Magnetic Office at Woolwich, under the direction of Sir E. Sabine, and many of those magnetic instruments with which Kew has been the means of furnishing scientific travellers have been derived from the same source.

Of late Kew has become the Central Observatory of the Meteorological Committee, and a commodious workshop has been erected near the Observatory by that Committee, since otherwise the main building would have been too small for the access of work consequent upon the arrangement entered into.

The statement prepared by the Kew Committee contained likewise a summary of the scientific work done at the Observatory, as well as some interesting historical remarks connected with the origin of the establishment, drawn up by Sir C. Wheatstone, and in this shape it was submitted to the Council of the British Association.

The Council then recommended 'that the present existing relations between the Kew Observatory and the British Association be continued unaltered until the completion, in 1872, of the magnetic and solar decennial period, and that after that date all connexion between them should cease.'

In consequence of this recommendation, the Kew Committee were led to contemplate the dissolution of the Kew establishment in 1872, and they became anxious to make such arrangements as might enable them to complete their scientific labours in a creditable manner before the time of the anticipated dissolution. The magnetic work in particular caused them anxiety; for the annual income of the establishment is insufficient to permit of that work being fully completed by the time of the Annual Meeting of the Association in 1872. Under these circumstances the Chairman offered to supplement the deficiency. It will be seen by this Report that the magnetic tabulations and reductions are now proceeding very fast.

The recommendation of the Council was also a matter of anxiety to the Superintendent, Mr. Stewart; and as the Professorship of Natural Philosophy at Owens College, Manchester, became vacant about this time, he applied for the appointment and was successful in obtaining it.

This will render it necessary for Mr. Stewart to reside in Manchester, but the staff at the Observatory are such that Mr. Stewart will undertake by their aid to assist the Committee in the superintendence of the work of the Observatory until 1872.

(A) WORK DONE BY KEW OBSERVATORY UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

1. *Magnetic Work.*—In the present state of magnetic science it would appear to be desirable to preserve as completely as possible the details of observation, so that future theorists may have a large and valuable source of information by which to test their speculations.

The Committee are therefore desirous that by the autumn of 1872 a manuscript record should be completed, containing all the hourly tabulated values from the Kew Magnetographs arranged in monthly tables.

This record should be carefully preserved, along with the original photographic traces, in the Archives of the Association.

Pursuing the method indicated by Sir E. Sabine, and adopt-

ing the separating values finally determined by him, the Committee further propose to obtain monthly results indicating the following points for each of the three magnetic elements, distributed according to the hour of the day:—

1. Aggregate of disturbance tending to increase the numerical values.
2. Aggregate of disturbance tending to decrease the same.
3. Solar diurnal range of the undisturbed observations.

They suggest that the monthly results embodying these facts should be published in detail.

Finally, they propose to continue the discussion of the Lunar Diurnal variations commenced by Sir E. Sabine, and carried on by him up to the end of the year 1864. In order to work this scheme with sufficient rapidity to complete it before the autumn of 1872, additional assistance has been procured, the expense of which has been defrayed by the Chairman. Mr. Whipple, Magnetic Assistant, has displayed much zeal and ability in organizing the work and in superintending its immediate execution.

Already the hourly numerical values of the three magnetic elements have been obtained and tabulated in monthly forms from the commencement of the series in 1853 to the present date; and considerable progress has also been made in the next step of the reduction.

A Unifilar, formerly employed by Capt. Haig, and of which the constants have been determined at the Observatory, has been lent to Lieut. Elagin, of the Russian Navy, for use in the Japanese seas and elsewhere.

A Dip-Circle, by Dover, has been verified, and sent to Prof. Jelinek, of Vienna; and another, by the same maker, has been verified for Dr. A. B. Meyer, for use in the East Indies. This gentleman has likewise received magnetic instruction at the Observatory.

A Dip-Circle, by Adie, furnished with a deflecting cylinder apparatus, has been verified and despatched to Prof. Bolzani, of the University of Vienna.

Three Dip-Circle Needles have likewise been constructed for Dr. Bergama, of Batavia, and one for Mr. Chambers, of the Colaba Observatory, Bombay.

A Deflection-Bar has been procured and verified for the Russian Central Observatory. A Declinometer has been sent to the Lisbon Observatory, and a Fox's Circle has been lent to Dr. Neumayer, after having been repaired by Adie.

The instrument devised by Mr. Brown for the purpose of estimating the magnetic dip by means of soft iron, and constructed at the expense of the British Association, in pursuance of a resolution of that body passed at the Oxford Meeting, has been forwarded to that gentleman at his request.

The usual monthly absolute determinations of the magnetic elements continue to be made by Mr. Whipple, Magnetic Assistant.

A paper, embodying the results of the absolute observations of Dip and Horizontal Force, made at Kew from April, 1853, to April, 1869, has been communicated by the Superintendent to the Royal Society, and published in the *Proceedings* of that body. The results obtained are evidence of the accuracy with which the monthly observations have been made by Mr. Whipple.

The self-recording Magnetographs are in constant operation as heretofore, and under his charge; and the photographic department connected with these instruments remains under the charge of Mr. Page.

2. Meteorological Work.—The meteorological work of the Observatory continues in the charge of Mr. Baker.

Since the Exeter Meeting, 150 Barometers have been verified, and 50 have been rejected; 1,160 Thermometers and 103 Hydrometers have likewise been verified. Nineteen Standard Thermometers have been constructed for Prof. Tait, and two for the Meteorological Office.

The self-recording meteorological instruments now in work at Kew will be again mentioned in the second division of this Report. These are in the charge of Mr. Baker, the photography being superintended by Mr. Page.

3. Photoheliograph.—The Kew Heliograph, in charge of Mr. Warren De La Rue, continues to be worked in a satisfactory manner. During the past year 351 pictures have been taken on 237 days.

It was considered desirable that six prints should be obtained from each of the negatives of the sun-pictures taken at the Observatory during the whole time that the Photoheliograph should remain in work, which will probably be from February, 1862, to February, 1872.

In order to accomplish this, an outlay of 120*l.*, spread over two years, was found to be necessary, and this sum has been voted from the Donation Fund of the Royal Society.

A large number of these prints has already been obtained, and it is proposed to present complete sets to the following institutions:—The Royal Astronomical Society, the Imperial Academy of Paris, the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, the Royal Society of Berlin, the Smithsonian Institution, United States, leaving one set for the Royal Society.

A paper embodying the positions and areas of the sun-groups observed at Kew during the years 1864, 1865 and 1866, as well as fortnightly values of the spotted solar area from 1832 to 1868, has been communicated to the Royal Society by Messrs. Warren De La Rue, Stewart and Loewy.

This paper is in the course of publication in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and will shortly be distributed.

A Table exhibiting the number of sun-spots recorded at Kew during the year 1869, after the manner of Hofrath Schwabe, has been communicated to the Astronomical Society, and published in their Monthly Notices.

M. Otto Struve, Director of the Imperial Observatory at Pulkowa, visited England in the month of August last. He brought with him, for the Kew Observatory, some sun-pictures made at Wilna with the photoheliograph, which, it will be recollected, was made some years ago, under the direction of Mr. De La Rue, by Mr. Dallmeyer. This instrument combines several important improvements on the original Kew model, the value of which is forcibly brought out in the superior definition of the Wilna sun-pictures. As, however, the series of the ten-yearly record at Kew was commenced with the instrument as originally constructed, it was not deemed desirable to alter it in any way until the series had been completed and reduced, and the corrections for optical distortion ascertained and applied. In the event of the sun-work being continued after 1872, it will be desirable to do so with a new and improved heliograph.

M. O. Struve proposed to exchange the complete series of pictures obtained at Wilna for that made at Kew. He also

stated that it is contemplated to erect a second heliograph at the Central Observatory at Pulkowa.

4. Miscellaneous Work.—A few experiments have been made on the rotation of a disc *in vacuo*. By an arrangement devised by Mr. Beckley, a very perfect carbonic-acid vacuum has been obtained, the residual pressure being 0.02 inch, as indicated by a mercurial gauge with a contracted tube; but it was believed that the vacuum was even more perfect.

A disc of paper and one of ebonite gave very sensible heat effects in such a vacuum, and it was hoped that the experiments might have been satisfactorily completed; but while they were in progress the pressure of the outer atmosphere shattered the receiver into a number of pieces, fortunately without any injury to the experimenters.

Another receiver has now been made, and it is proposed in future to use it with a cover glass.

A Transit instrument has been lent to Mr. G. J. Symonds, and one Sextant has been verified.

(B) WORK DONE AT KEW, AS THE CENTRAL OBSERVATORY OF THE METEOROLOGICAL COMMITTEE.

It is stated in the Report for 1867 that the Meteorological Committee had appointed Mr. Balfour Stewart as their Secretary, on the understanding that he should, with the concurrence of the Kew Committee, retain his office of Superintendent of the Kew Observatory.

On the 8th of October, 1869, Mr. Stewart resigned his appointment as Secretary to the Meteorological Committee and Director of their Central Observatory—a step which took effect on the 31st of March, 1870, and which was followed by a modification of the relation between the two Committees.

The Meteorological Committee, at their meeting on the 12th of November, 1869, resolved that they were prepared to make the following proposals to the Council of the British Association:—

I. That Kew be continued as one of the ordinary self-recording observatories, in which case the Committee would be prepared to allot to it annually 250*l.*, or

II. In addition to the foregoing work, that Kew be maintained as the central observatory for examination of records and tabulations from all the other observatories, in which case the Committee will be prepared to allot a further annual sum of 400*l.*

The Kew Committee, having been furnished with this resolution of the Meteorological Committee, resolved that it be recommended to the Council of the British Association that Kew be continued for the next two years as one of the ordinary self-recording observatories of the Meteorological Committee, that body allowing it annually 250*l.*; and that, in addition, it be maintained as the central observatory for the examination of the records and tabulations from all the other observatories, for the further sum of 400*l.* per annum. This arrangement was approved by the Council; and it was thereupon resolved by the Kew Committee that, out of the 650*l.* received from the Meteorological Committee, 200*l.* be given to Mr. Stewart for superintending the meteorological work of the Observatory; this resolution to take effect after the 31st of March, 1870.

1. Work done at Kew, as one of the Observatories of the Meteorological Committee.—The Barograph, Thermograph and Anemograph furnished by the Meteorological Committee are kept in constant operation. Mr. Baker is in charge of these instruments. From the first two instruments traces in duplicate are obtained, one set being sent to the Meteorological Office and one retained at Kew; as regards the Anemograph, the original records are sent, while a copy by hand of these, on tracing-paper, is retained. The tabulations from the curves of the Kew instrument are made by Messrs. Baker, Page and Foster.

2. Verification of Records.—The system of Checks, devised by the Kew Committee for testing the accuracy of the observations made at the different observatories, continues to be followed, the only alteration being that the Kew staff, at the suggestion of the Meteorological Committee, have undertaken to rule on the barograms and thermograms a set of zero lines, which are of great use in pantagraphic operations.

Mr. Rigby continues to perform the main part of this work; Mr. Baker, Meteorological Assistant, having the general superintendence of the department.

3. Occasional Assistance.—The Meteorological Committee have availed themselves of the permission to have the occasional services of Mr. Beckley, Mechanical Assistant at Kew; and he has lately been visiting the various observatories of the Meteorological Committee.

The self-recording Rain-gauge, mentioned in the last Report as having been devised by Mr. Beckley, has been adopted by the Meteorological Committee, and instruments of this kind are at present being constructed for their various observatories.

The staff at Kew continue to make occasional absolute hygrometrical observations by means of Regnault's instrument, with the view of testing the accuracy of the method of deducing the dew-point from the observations with the dry and wet bulb thermometers.

Two erections have been made in the grounds adjoining the Observatory; and on one of these a large Robinson's anemometer is placed, while a small instrument of the same kind is placed on the other.

By this means the indications of the large and those of the small-sized instrument may be compared with each other. The cost of this experiment has been defrayed by the Meteorological Committee.

J. P. GASSIOT, Chairman.

Kew Observatory, September 9, 1870.

Accounts of the Kew Committee of the British Association, from August 13, 1869, to September 14, 1870.

RECEIPTS.	
Balance from last account	£46 16 4
Received from the General Treasurer	000 0 0
For the Verification of Meteorological Instruments:	
From the Meteorological Office	69 9 0
From the Office of Standards	2 1 0
From Opticians and others	56 16 0
For the Verification of Magnetical Instruments	5 10 0
For the Construction of Standard Thermometers	20 0 0
From the Meteorological Office:	
Allowance for one year as one of the Observatories of the Meteorological Committee	250 0 0
Extra allowance to Kew as Central Observatory:	
From October 1st, 1869, to March 31st, 1870, at 200 <i>l.</i> per annum	100 0 0

From April, 1869, to September 30th, 1870, at 400 <i>l.</i> per annum	200 0 0
For Services of Assistants	17 10 0
From Sale of Photographic Residues	4 17 1
Deficiency made up by the Chairman	202 11 7
	£1,575 11 0

PAYMENTS.

Salaries, &c.:	
To B. Stewart, four quarters, ending 30th September, 1870	£200 0 0
Ditto, allowance for superintending work connected with the Meteorological Committee, from April 1st, 1870, to September 30th, 1870	100 0 0
Ditto, allowance for petty travelling expenses	10 0 0
G. Whipple, salary to quarter ending 30th September, 1870	125 0 0
T. Baker	100 0 0
F. Page	70 0 0
J. Rigby	60 0 0
R. Beckley, salary from August 16th, 1869, to August 15th, 1870	130 0 0
J. Foster, salary from June 5th, 1869, to September 30th, 1870	51 11 0
A. Hill, salary from June 5th, 1869, to July 30th, 1870	28 12 0
Apparatus, materials, tools, &c.	67 17 1
Ironmonger, carpenter, and mason	25 19 1
Printing, stationery, books, postage, &c.	60 0 1
Gas and coals	75 16 9
House expenses, chandlery, &c.	71 9 6
Portage and petty expenses	46 2 11
Meteorological work done at extra hours	33 18 0
Magnetical tabulations done by supernumerary assistants	318 4 7
Rent of land attached to Observatory	11 0 0
	£1,575 11 0

Examined with the vouchers and found correct.

August 29th, 1870. W. J. SMYTHE, Colonel.

The Treasurer's Report was next read:—

The General Treasurer's Account,

From August 13, 1869 (commencement of Exeter Meeting), to September 14, 1870 (Liverpool).

RECEIPTS.	
To balance brought from last Account	£177 1 0
Life Compositions at Exeter Meeting and since	278 0 0
Annual Subscriptions ditto ditto	618 19 7
Associates' Tickets ditto ditto	678 0 0
Ladies' Tickets ditto ditto	600 0 0
Dividends on Stock	228 2 8
Sale of Publications, viz.:	
Reports	30 15 4
Index, Catalogue of Stars, &c.	7 5 10
Sale of Consols	468 6 0
Per Dr. Percival Wright, being the balance of a grant made for investigating the North Greensand Fauna and Flora, but not used	74 18 6
Per Colonel Sykes, being the balance of a grant made to the Balloon Committee, but not used	33 5 0
	£3,199 13 9

PAYMENTS.

Expenses of Exeter Meeting, also sundry Printing, Binding, Advertising, and incidental Petty Expenses	£358 13 3
Printing, Engraving, and Binding Report of 38th Meeting (Norwich)	660 0 0
On Account of Report of 39th Meeting (Exeter)	26 14 8
Salaries, for one year	350 0 0
Grants made at Exeter Meeting, viz.:	
Maintaining the Establishment of Kew Observatory	600 0 0
Metrical Committee	25 0 0
Zoological Record	100 0 0
For Committee on—	
Marine Fauna	20 0 0
Ears in Fishes	10 0 0
Chemical Nature of Cast Iron	80 0 0
Luminous Meteors	30 0 0
Heat in the Blood	15 0 0
British Rainfall	100 0 0
Thermal Conductivity of Iron, &c.	20 0 0
British Fossil Corals	50 0 0
Kent's Hole Explorations	150 0 0
Scottish Earthquakes	4 0 0
Bagshot Leaf-Beds	15 0 0
Fossil Flora	25 0 0
Tidal Observations	50 0 0
Underground Temperature	100 0 0
Kiltoran Quarries Fossils	25 0 0
Mountain Limestone Fossils	25 0 0
Utilization of Sewage	50 0 0
Organic Chemical Compounds	30 0 0
Onny River Sediments	3 0 0
Mechanical Equivalent of Heat	50 0 0
Balance at London and Westminster	£230 18 6
Bank	1 6 9
Ditto in hands of General Treasurer	232 5 3
	£3,199 13 9

Prof. Hirst announced a legacy of 100*l.* from Mr. A. Robb.

The evening meeting took place in the Philharmonic Hall, which is a very large building, and was completely filled. Large numbers of ladies were present to hear Prof. Huxley's address, which was written in the best taste, devoid of any sentences obnoxious to the most sensitive audience: it was at once abstruse and popular; but the two

conditions were combined in language perfectly intelligible to every one. It was as follows:—

The President's Address.

My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It has long been the custom for the newly-installed President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science to take advantage of the elevation of the position in which the suffrages of his colleagues had, for the time, placed him, and, casting his eyes around the horizon of the scientific world, to report to them what could be seen from his watch-tower; in what directions the multitudinous divisions of the noble army of the improvers of natural knowledge were marching; what important strongholds of the great enemy of us all, Ignorance, had been recently captured; and also, with due impartiality, to mark where the advanced posts of science had been driven in, or a long-continued siege had made no progress.

I propose to endeavour to follow this ancient precedent, in a manner suited to the limitations of my knowledge and of my capacity. I shall not presume to attempt a panoramic survey of the world of Science, nor even to give a sketch of what is doing in the one great province of Biology, with some portions of which my ordinary occupations render me familiar. But I shall endeavour to put before you the history of the rise and progress of a single biological doctrine; and I shall try to give some notion of the fruits, both intellectual and practical, which we owe, directly or indirectly, to the working out, by seven generations of patient and laborious investigators, of the thought which arose, more than two centuries ago, in the mind of a sagacious and observant Italian naturalist.

It is a matter of every-day experience that it is difficult to prevent many articles of food from becoming covered with mould; that fruit, sound enough to all appearance, often contains grubs at the core; that meat, left to itself in the air, is apt to putrefy and swarm with maggots. Even ordinary water, if allowed to stand in an open vessel, sooner or later becomes turbid and full of living matter.

The philosophers of antiquity, interrogated as to the cause of these phenomena, were provided with a ready and a plausible answer. It did not enter their minds even to doubt that these low forms of life were generated in the matters in which they made their appearance. Lucretius, who had drunk deeper of the scientific spirit than any poet of ancient or modern times except Goethe, intends to speak as a philosopher, rather than as a poet, when he writes that "with good reason the earth has gotten the name of mother, since all things are produced out of the earth. And many living creatures, even now, spring out of the earth, taking form by the rains and the heat of the sun." The axiom of ancient science, "that the corruption of one thing is the birth of another," had its popular embodiment in the notion that a seed dies before the young plant springs from it; a belief so widespread and so fixed, that Saint Paul appeals to it in one of the most splendid outbursts of his fervid eloquence:—"Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die." (1 Corinthians, xv. 36.) The proposition that life may, and does, proceed from that which has no life, then, was held alike by the philosophers, the poets, and the people, of the most enlightened nations, eighteen hundred years ago; and it remained the accepted doctrine of learned and unlearned Europe, through the Middle Ages, down even to the seventeenth century.

It is commonly counted among the many merits of our great countryman, Harvey, that he was the first to declare the opposition of fact to venerable authority in this, as in other matters; but I can discover no justification for this wide-spread notion. After careful search through the *'Exercitationes de Generatione'*, the most that appears clear to me is, that Harvey believed all animals and plants to spring from what he terms a "*primordium vegetale*," a phrase which may now-a-days be rendered "a vegetative germ"; and this, he says, is "*oviforme*," or "egg-like"; not, he is careful to add, that it necessarily has the shape of an egg, but because it has the constitution and nature of one.

That this "*primordium oviforme*" must needs, in all cases, proceed from a living parent is nowhere expressly maintained by Harvey, though such an opinion may be thought to be implied in one or two passages; while, on the other hand, he does, more than once, use language which is consistent only with a full belief in spontaneous or equivocal generation. In fact, the main concern of Harvey's wonderful little treatise is not with generation, in the physiological sense, at all, but with development; and his great object is the establishment of the doctrine of Epigenesis.

The first distinct enunciation of the hypothesis that all living matter has sprung from pre-existing living matter, came from a contemporary, though a junior, of Harvey, a native of that country, fertile in men great in all departments of human activity, which was to intellectual Europe, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what Germany is in the nineteenth. It was in Italy, and from Italian teachers, that Harvey received the most important part of his scientific education. And it was a student trained in the same schools, Francesco Redi—a man of the widest knowledge and most versatile abilities, distinguished alike as scholar, poet, physician, and naturalist,—who, just 202 years ago, published his *'Esperienze intorno alla Generazione degl' Insetti'*, and gave to the world the idea, the growth of which it is my purpose to trace. Redi's book went through five editions in twenty years; and the extreme simplicity of his experiments, and the clearness of his arguments, gained for his views, and for their consequences, almost universal acceptance.

Redi did not trouble himself much with speculative considerations, but attacked particular cases of what was supposed to be "spontaneous generation" experimentally. Here are dead animals, or pieces of meat, says he; I expose them to the air in hot weather, and in a few days they swarm with maggots. You tell me that these are generated in the dead flesh; but if I put similar bodies, while quite fresh, into a jar, and tie some fine gauze over the top of the jar, not a maggot makes its appearance, while the dead substances, nevertheless, putrefy just in the same way as before. It is obvious, therefore, that the maggots are not generated by the corruption of the meat; and that the cause of their formation must be a something which is kept away by gauze. But gauze will not keep away aeriform bodies, or fluids. This something must, therefore, exist in the form of solid particles too big to get through the gauze. Nor is one long left in doubt what these solid particles are; for the blow-flies, attracted by the odour of the meat, swarm round the vessel, and, urged by a powerful but, in this case, misleading instinct, lay eggs, out of which maggots are immediately hatched, upon the gauze. The conclusion, therefore, is unavoidable; the maggots are not generated by the meat, but the eggs which give rise to them are brought through the air by the flies.

These experiments seem almost childishly simple, and one wonders how it was that no one ever thought of them before. Simple as they are, however, they are worthy of the most careful study, for every piece of experimental work since done, in regard to this subject, has been shaped upon the model furnished by the Italian philosopher. As the results of his experiments were the same, however varied the nature of the materials he used, it is not wonderful that there arose in Redi's mind a presumption, that in all such cases of the seeming production of life from dead matter, the real explanation was the introduction of living germs from without into that dead matter—(Redi, *Esperienze*, pp. 14-16). And thus the hypothesis that living matter always arises by the agency of pre-existing living matter, took definite shape; and had henceforward a right to be considered and a claim to be refuted, in each particular case, before the production of living matter in any other way could be admitted by careful reasoners. It will be necessary for me to refer to this hypothesis so frequently, that, to save circumlocution, I shall call it the hypothesis of *Biogenesis*; and I shall term the contrary doctrine—that living matter may be produced

by not living matter—the hypothesis of *Abiogenesis*.

In the seventeenth century, as I have said, the latter was the dominant view, sanctioned alike by antiquity and by authority; and it is interesting to observe that Redi did not escape the customary tax upon a discoverer, of having to defend himself against the charge of impugning the authority of the Scriptures (Redi, *l. c.* p. 45, *Esperienze*, p. 120); for his adversaries declared that the generation of bees from the carcass of a dead lion is affirmed, in the Book of Judges, to have been the origin of the famous riddle with which Samson perplexed the Philistines:

Out of the eater came forth meat,
And out of the strong came forth sweetness.

Against all odds, however, Redi, strong with the strength of demonstrable fact, did splendid battle for *Biogenesis*; but it is remarkable that he held the doctrine in a sense which, if he had lived in these times, would have infallibly caused him to be classed among the defenders of "spontaneous generation." "*Omne vivum ex vivo*," "no life without antecedent life," aphoristically sums up Redi's doctrine; but he went no further. It is most remarkable evidence of the philosophic caution and impartiality of his mind, that, although he had speculatively anticipated the manner in which grubs really are deposited in fruits and in the galls of plants, he deliberately admits that the evidence is insufficient to bear him out; and he therefore prefers the supposition that they are generated by a modification of the living substance of the plants themselves. Indeed, he regards these vegetable growths as organs, by means of which the plant gives rise to an animal, and looks upon this production of specific animals as the final cause of the galls and of, at any rate, some fruits. And he proposes to explain the occurrence of parasites within the animal body in the same way.

It is of great importance to apprehend Redi's position rightly; for the lines of thought he laid down for us are those upon which naturalists have been working ever since. Clearly he held *Biogenesis* as against *Abiogenesis*; and I shall immediately proceed, in the first place, to inquire how far subsequent investigation has borne him out in so doing.

But Redi also thought that there were two modes of *Biogenesis*. By the one method, which is that of common and ordinary occurrence, the living parent gives rise to offspring, which passes through the same cycle of changes as itself—like gives rise to like; and this has been termed *Homogenesis*. By the other mode, the living parent was supposed to give rise to offspring which passed through a totally different series of states from those exhibited by the parent, and did not return into the cycle of the parent: this is what ought to be called *Heterogenesis*, the offspring being altogether, and permanently, unlike the parent. The term *Heterogenesis*, however, has unfortunately been used in a different sense, and M. Milne-Edwards has therefore substituted for it *Xenogenesis*, which means the generation of something foreign. After discussing Redi's hypothesis of universal *Biogenesis*, then, I shall go on to ask how far the growth of science justifies his other hypothesis of *Xenogenesis*.

The progress of the hypothesis of *Biogenesis* was triumphant and unchecked for nearly a century. The application of the microscope to anatomy, in the hands of Crew, Leeuwenhoek, Swammerdam, Lyonet, Vallisnieri, Reaumur, and other illustrious investigators of nature of that day, displayed such a complexity of organization in the lowest and minutest forms, and everywhere revealed such a prodigality of provision for their multiplication by germs of one sort or another, that the hypothesis of *Abiogenesis* began to appear not only untrue, but absurd; and, in the middle of the eighteenth century, when Needham and Buffon took up the question, it was almost universally discredited. (*Nouvelles Observations*, p. 169 and 176.)

But the skill of the microscope-makers of the eighteenth century soon reached its limit. A microscope magnifying 400 diameters was a *chef-d'œuvre* of the opticians of that day; and, at the same time,

by no means trustworthy. But a magnifying-power of 400 diameters, even when definition reaches the exquisite perfection of our modern achromatic lenses, hardly suffices for the mere discernment of the smallest forms of life. A speck, only $\frac{1}{25}$ th of an inch in diameter, has, at 10 inches from the eye, the same apparent size as an object $\frac{1}{250}$ th of an inch in diameter, when magnified 400 times; but forms of living matter abound, the diameter of which is not more than $\frac{1}{3000}$ th of an inch. A filtered infusion of hay, allowed to stand for two days, will swarm with living things, among which, any which reaches the diameter of a human red blood-corpuscle, or about $\frac{1}{3000}$ th of an inch, is a giant. It is only by bearing these facts in mind, that we can deal fairly with the remarkable statements and speculations put forward by Buffon and Needham in the middle of the eighteenth century.

When a portion of any animal or vegetable body is infused in water, it gradually softens and disintegrates; and, as it does so, the water is found to swarm with minute active creatures, the so-called Infusorial Animalcules, none of which can be seen except by the aid of the microscope; while a large proportion belong to the category of smallest things of which I have spoken, and which must have all looked like mere dots and lines under the ordinary microscopes of the eighteenth century.

Led by various theoretical considerations, which I cannot now discuss, but which looked promising enough in the lights of that day, Buffon and Needham doubted the applicability of Redi's hypothesis to the infusorial animalcules, and Needham very properly endeavoured to put the question to an experimental test. He said to himself, if these infusorial animalcules come from germs, their germs must exist either in the substance infused, or in the water with which the infusion is made, or in the superjacent air. Now the vitality of all germs is destroyed by heat. Therefore, if I boil the infusion, cork it up carefully, cementing the cork over with mastic, and then heat the whole vessel by heaping hot ashes over it, I must needs kill whatever germs are present. Consequently, if Redi's hypothesis hold good, when the infusion is taken away and allowed to cool, no animalcules ought to be developed in it; whereas, if the animalcules are not dependent on pre-existing germs, but are generated from the infused substance, they ought, by-and-by, to make their appearance. Needham found that, under the circumstances in which he made his experiments, animalcules always did arise in the infusions, when a sufficient time had elapsed to allow for their development.

In much of his work Needham was associated with Buffon, and the results of their experiments fitted in admirably with the great French naturalist's hypothesis of "organic molecules," according to which, life is the indefeasible property of certain indestructible molecules of matter, which exist in all living things, and have inherent activities by which they are distinguished from not living matter. Each individual living organism is formed by their temporary combination. They stand to it in the relation of the particles of water to a cascade or a whirlpool; or to a mould, into which the water is poured. The form of the organism is thus determined by the reaction between external conditions and the inherent activities of the organic molecules of which it is composed; and, as the stoppage of a whirlpool destroys nothing but a form, and leaves the molecules of the water, with all their inherent activities intact, so what we call the death and putrefaction of an animal or a plant is merely the breaking up of the form, or manner of association, of its constituent organic molecules, which are then set free as infusorial animalcules.

It will be perceived that this doctrine is by no means identical with *Abiogenesis*, with which it is often confounded. On this hypothesis, a piece of beef or a handful of hay is dead only in a limited sense. The beef is dead ox, and the hay is dead grass; but the "organic molecules" of the beef or the hay are not dead, but are ready to manifest their vitality as soon as the bovine or herbaceous shrouds in which they are imprisoned are rent by the macerating action of water. The hypothesis,

therefore, must be classified under *Xenogenesis* rather than under *Abiogenesis*. Such as it was, I think it will appear, to those who will be just enough to remember that it was propounded before the birth of modern chemistry and of the modern optical arts, to be a most ingenious and suggestive speculation.

But the great tragedy of Science—the slaying of a beautiful hypothesis by an ugly fact—which is so constantly being enacted under the eyes of philosophers, was played, almost immediately, for the benefit of Buffon and Needham.

Once more, an Italian, the Abbé Spallanzani, a worthy successor and representative of Redi in his acuteness, his ingenuity, and his learning, subjected the experiments and the conclusions of Needham to a searching criticism. It might be true that Needham's experiments yielded results such as he had described, but did they bear out his arguments? Was it not possible, in the first place, that he had not completely excluded the air by his corks and mastic? And was it not possible, in the second place, that he had not sufficiently heated his infusions and the superjacent air? Spallanzani joined issue with the English naturalist on both these pleas; and he showed that if, in the first place, the glass vessels in which the infusions were contained were hermetically sealed by fusing their necks, and if, in the second place, they were exposed to the temperature of boiling-water for three-quarters of an hour (see Spallanzani, 'Opere,' vi. pp. 42 and 51), no animalcules ever made their appearance within them. It must be admitted that the experiments and arguments of Spallanzani furnish a complete and a crushing reply to those of Needham. But we all too often forget that it is one thing to refute a proposition, and another to prove the truth of a doctrine which implicitly, or explicitly, contradicts that proposition; and the advance of science soon showed that though Needham might be quite wrong, it did not follow that Spallanzani was quite right.

Modern Chemistry, the birth of the latter half of the eighteenth century, grew apace, and soon found herself face to face with the great problems which Biology had vainly tried to attack without her help. The discovery of oxygen led to the laying of the foundations of a scientific theory of respiration, and to an examination of the marvellous interactions of organic substances with oxygen. The presence of free oxygen appeared to be one of the conditions of the existence of life, and of those singular changes in organic matters which are known as fermentation and putrefaction. The question of the generation of the infusory animalcules thus passed into a new phase. For what might not have happened to the organic matter of the infusions, or to the oxygen of the air, in Spallanzani's experiments? What security was there that the development of life which ought to have taken place had not been checked, or prevented, by these changes?

The battle had to be fought again. It was needful to repeat the experiments under conditions which would make sure that neither the oxygen of the air, nor the composition of the organic matter, was altered, in such a manner as to interfere with the existence of life.

Schulze and Schwann took up the question from this point of view in 1836 and 1837. The passage of air through red-hot glass tubes, or through strong sulphuric acid, does not alter the proportion of its oxygen, while it must needs arrest, or destroy, any organic matter which may be contained in the air. These experimenters, therefore, contrived arrangements by which the only air which should come into contact with a boiled infusion should be such as had either passed through red-hot tubes or through strong sulphuric acid. The result which they obtained was that an infusion so treated developed no living things, while if the same infusion was afterwards exposed to the air such things appeared rapidly and abundantly. The accuracy of these experiments has been alternately denied and affirmed. Supposing them to be accepted, however, all that they really proved was, that the treatment to which the air was sub-

jected destroyed something that was essential to the development of life in the infusion. This "something" might be gaseous, fluid, or solid; that it consisted of germs remained only an hypothesis of greater or less probability.

Contemporaneously with these investigations a remarkable discovery was made by Cagniard de La Tour. He found that common yeast is composed of a vast accumulation of minute plants. The fermentation of must, or of wort, in the fabrication of wine and of beer, is always accompanied by the rapid growth and multiplication of these *Torule*. Thus fermentation, in so far as it was accompanied by the development of microscopical organisms in enormous numbers, became assimilated to the decomposition of an infusion of ordinary animal or vegetable matter; and it was an obvious suggestion that the organisms were, in some way or other, the causes both of fermentation and of putrefaction. The chemists, with Berzelius and Liebig at their head, at first laughed this idea to scorn; but in 1843, a man then very young, who has since performed the unexampled feat of attaining to high eminence alike in Mathematics, Physics and Physiology,—I speak of the illustrious Helmholtz,—reduced the matter to the test of experiment by a method alike elegant and conclusive. Helmholtz separated a putrefying, or fermenting liquid, from one which was simply putrescible, or fermentable, by a membrane, which allowed the fluids to pass through and become intermixed, but stopped the passage of solids. The result was, that while the putrescible, or the fermentable, liquids became impregnated with the results of the putrescence, or fermentation, which was going on on the other side of the membrane, they neither putrefied (in the ordinary way) nor fermented; nor were any of the organisms which abounded in the fermenting, or putrefying, liquid generated in them. Therefore, the cause of the development of these organisms must lie in something which cannot pass through membrane; and as Helmholtz's investigations were long antecedent to Graham's researches upon colloids, his natural conclusion was, that the agent thus intercepted must be a solid material. In point of fact, Helmholtz's experiments narrowed the issue to this: that which excites fermentation and putrefaction, and at the same time gives rise to living forms in a fermentable, or putrescible, fluid, is not a gas and is not a diffusible fluid; therefore it is either a colloid, or it is matter divided into very minute solid particles.

The researches of Schroeder and Dusch in 1854, and of Schroeder alone, in 1859, cleared up this point by experiments which are simply refinements upon those of Redi. A lump of cotton-wool is, physically speaking, a pile of many thicknesses of a very fine gauze, the fineness of the meshes of which depends upon the closeness of the compression of the wool. Now, Schroeder and Dusch found, that, in the case of all the putrefable materials which they used (except milk and yolk of egg), an infusion boiled, and then allowed to come into contact with no air but such as had been filtered through cotton-wool, neither putrefied nor fermented, nor developed living forms. It is hard to imagine what the fine sieve formed by the cotton-wool could have stopped except minute solid particles. Still the evidence was incomplete until it had been positively shown, first, that ordinary air does contain such particles; and, secondly, that filtration through cotton-wool arrests these particles and allows only physically pure air to pass. This demonstration has been furnished within the last year by the remarkable experiments of Prof. Tyndall. It has been a common objection of Abiogenists that, if the doctrine of Biogeny is true, the air must be thick with germs; and they regard this as the height of absurdity. But Nature occasionally is exceedingly unreasonable, and Prof. Tyndall has proved that this particular absurdity may nevertheless be a reality. He has demonstrated that ordinary air is no better than a sort of strabot of excessively minute solid particles; that these particles are almost wholly destructible by heat; and that they are strained off, and the air rendered optically pure, by being passed through cotton-wool.

But it remains yet in the order of logic, though not of history, to show that, among these solid destructible particles, there really do exist germs capable of giving rise to the development of living forms in suitable media. This piece of work was done by M. Pasteur in those beautiful researches which will ever render his name famous, and which, in spite of all attacks upon them, appear to me now, as they did seven years ago ('Lectures to Working Men on the Causes of the Phenomena of Organic Nature,' 1863), to be models of accurate experimentation and logical reasoning. He strained air through cotton-wool, and found, as Schroeder and Dusch had done, that it contained nothing competent to give rise to the development of life in fluids highly fitted for that purpose. But the important further links in the chain of evidence added by Pasteur are three. In the first place, he subjected to microscopic examination the cotton-wool which had served as strainer, and found that sundry bodies, clearly recognizable as germs, were among the solid particles strained off. Secondly, he proved that these germs were competent to give rise to living forms by simply sowing them in a solution fitted for their development. And, thirdly, he showed that the incapacity of air strained through cotton-wool to give rise to life was not due to any occult change effected in constituents of the air by the wool, by proving that the cotton-wool might be dispensed with altogether, and perfectly free access left between the exterior air and that in the experimental flask. If the neck of the flask is drawn out into a tube and bent downwards, and if, after the contained fluid has been carefully boiled, the tube is heated sufficiently to destroy any germs which may be present in the air which enters as the fluid cools, the apparatus may be left to itself for any time, and no life will appear in the fluid. The reason is plain. Although there is free communication between the atmosphere laden with germs and the germless air in the flask, contact between the two takes place only in the tube; and as the germs cannot fall upwards, and there are no currents, they never reach the interior of the flask. But if the tube be broken short off where it proceeds from the flask, and free access be thus given to germs falling vertically out of the air, the fluid, which has remained clear and desert for months, becomes, in a few days, turbid and full of life.

These experiments have been repeated over and over again by independent observers with entire success; and there is one very simple mode of seeing the facts for oneself, which I may as well describe.

Prepare a solution (much used by M. Pasteur, and often called "Pasteur's solution") composed of water with tartrate of ammonia, sugar, and yeast-ash dissolved therein. Infusion of hay, treated in the same way, yields similar results; but as it contains organic matter, the argument which follows cannot be based upon it. Divide it into three portions in as many flasks; boil all three for a quarter of an hour; and, while the steam is passing out, stop the neck of one with a large plug of cotton-wool, so that this also may be thoroughly steamed. Now set the flasks aside to cool, and, when their contents are cold, add to one of the open ones a drop of filtered infusion of hay which has stood for twenty-four hours, and is consequently full of the active and excessively minute organisms known as Bacteria. In a couple of days of ordinary warm weather, the contents of this flask will be milky, from the enormous multiplication of Bacteria. The other flask, open and exposed to the air, will, sooner or later, become milky with Bacteria, and patches of mould may appear in it; while the liquid in the flask, the neck of which is plugged with cotton-wool, will remain clear for an indefinite time. I have sought in vain for any explanation of these facts, except the obvious one, that the air contains germs competent to give rise to Bacteria, such as those with which the first solution has been knowingly and purposely inoculated, and to the mould Fungi. And I have not yet been able to meet with any advocate of Abiogenesis who seriously maintains that the atoms of sugar, tartrate of ammonia, yeast-ash and water, under no influ-

ence but that of free access of air and the ordinary temperature, re-arrange themselves and give rise to the protoplasm of Bacterium. But the alternative is to admit that these Bacteria arise from germs in the air; and, if they are thus propagated, the burden of proof, that other like forms are generated in a different manner, must rest with the assertor of that proposition.

To sum up the effect of this long chain of evidence:—

It is demonstrable, that a fluid eminently fit for the development of the lowest forms of life, but which contains neither germs nor any protein compound, gives rise to living things in great abundance, if it is exposed to ordinary air; while no such development takes place if the air with which it is in contact is mechanically freed from the solid particles, which ordinarily float in it, and which may be made visible by appropriate means.

It is demonstrable, that the great majority of these particles are destructible by heat, and that some of them are germs, or living particles, capable of giving rise to the same forms of life as those which appear when the fluid is exposed to unpurified air.

It is demonstrable, that inoculation of the experimental fluid with a drop of liquid known to contain living particles, gives rise to the same phenomena as exposure to unpurified air.

And it is further certain that these living particles are so minute that the assumption of their suspension in ordinary air presents not the slightest difficulty. On the contrary, considering their lightness and the wide diffusion of the organisms which produce them, it is impossible to conceive that they should not be suspended in the atmosphere in myriads.

Thus the evidence, direct and indirect, in favour of Biogenesis for all known forms of life must, I think, be admitted to be of great weight.

On the other side, the sole assertions worthy of attention are, that hermetically sealed fluids, which have been exposed to great and long-continued heat, have sometimes exhibited living forms of low organization when they have been opened.

The first reply that suggests itself is the probability that there must be some error about these experiments, because they are performed on an enormous scale every day, with quite contrary results. Meat, fruits, vegetables, the very materials of the most fermentable and putrescible infusions, are preserved to the extent, I suppose I may say, of thousands of tons every year, by a method which is a mere application of Spallanzani's experiment. The matters to be preserved are well boiled in a tin case provided with a small hole, and this hole is soldered up when all the air in the case has been replaced by steam. By this method they may be kept for years, without putrefying, fermenting or getting mouldy. Now this is not because oxygen is excluded, inasmuch as it is now proved that free oxygen is not necessary for either fermentation or putrefaction. It is not because the tins are exhausted of air, for Vibriones and Bacteria live, as Pasteur has shown, without air or free oxygen. It is not because the boiled meats or vegetables are not putrescible or fermentable, as those who have had the misfortune to be in a ship supplied with unskillfully closed tins well know. What is it, therefore, but the exclusion of germs? I think that Abiogenists are bound to answer this question before they ask us to consider new experiments of precisely the same order.

And in the next place, if the results of the experiments I refer to are really trustworthy, it by no means follows that Abiogenesis has taken place. The resistance of living matter to heat is known to vary within considerable limits, and to depend, to some extent, upon the chemical and physical qualities of the surrounding medium. But if, in the present state of science, the alternative is offered us, either germs can stand a greater heat than has been supposed, or the molecules of dead matter, for no valid or intelligible reason that is assigned, are able to re-arrange themselves into living bodies, exactly such as can be demonstrated to be frequently produced in another way, I cannot

understand how choice can be, even for a moment, doubtful.

But though I cannot express this conviction of mine too strongly, I must carefully guard myself against the supposition that I intend to suggest that no such thing as Abiogenesis ever has taken place in the past, or ever will take place in the future. With organic chemistry, molecular physics, and physiology yet in their infancy, and every day making prodigious strides, I think it would be the height of presumption for any man to say that the conditions under which matter assumes the properties we call "vital" may not, some day, be artificially brought together. All I feel justified in affirming is, that I see no reason for believing that the feat has been performed yet.

And, looking back through the prodigious vista of the past, I find no record of the commencement of life, and therefore I am devoid of any means of forming a definite conclusion as to the conditions of its appearance. Belief, in the scientific sense of the word, is a serious matter, and needs strong foundations. To say, therefore, in the admitted absence of evidence, that I have any belief as to the mode in which the existing forms of life have originated, would be using words in a wrong sense. But expectation is permissible where belief is not; and if it were given me to look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions, which it can no more see again than a man may recall his infancy, I should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from not living matter. I should expect to see it appear under forms of great simplicity, endowed, like existing Fungi, with the power of determining the formation of new protoplasm from such matters as ammonium carbonates, oxalates and tartrates, alkaline and earthy phosphates, and water, without the aid of light. That is the expectation to which analogical reasoning leads me; but I beg you once more to recollect that I have no right to call my opinion anything but an act of philosophical faith.

So much for the history of the progress of Redi's great doctrine of Biogenesis, which appears to me, with the limitations I have expressed, to be victorious along the whole line at the present day.

As regards the second problem offered to us by Redi, whether Xenogenesis obtains, side by side with Homogenesis; whether, that is, there exist not only the ordinary living things, giving rise to offspring which run through the same cycle as themselves, but also others, producing offspring which are of a totally different character from themselves, the researches of two centuries have led to a different result. That the grubs found in galls are no product of the plants on which the galls grow, but are the result of the introduction of the eggs of insects into the substance of these plants, was made out by Vallisnieri, Reaumur, and others, before the end of the first half of the eighteenth century. The tapeworms, bladderworms and flukes continued to be a stronghold of the advocates of Xenogenesis for a much longer period. Indeed, it is only within the last thirty years that the splendid patience of Von Siebold, Van Beneden, Leuckart, Küchenmeister, and other helminthologists, has succeeded in tracing every such parasite, often through the strangest wanderings and metamorphoses, to an egg derived from a parent actually or potentially like itself; and the tendency of inquiries elsewhere has all been in the same direction. A plant may throw off bulbs, but these, sooner or later, give rise to seeds or spores, which develop into the original form. A polype may give rise to Medusa, or a pluteus to an Echinoderm, but the Medusa and the Echinoderm give rise to eggs which produce polypes or plutei, and they are therefore only stages in the cycle of life of the species.

But if we turn to Pathology, it offers us some remarkable approximations to true Xenogenesis.

As I have already mentioned, it has been known since the time of Vallisnieri and of Reaumur that galls in plants and tumours in cattle are caused by insects, which lay their eggs in those parts of the

animal or vegetable frame of which these morbid structures are outgrowths. Again, it is a matter of familiar experience to everybody that mere pressure on the skin will give rise to a corn. Now the gall, the tumour, and the corn are parts of the living body, which have become, to a certain degree, independent and distinct organisms. Under the influence of certain external conditions, elements of the body, which should have developed in due subordination to its general plan, set up for themselves, and apply the nourishment which they receive to their own purposes.

From such innocent productions as corns and warts there are all gradations to the serious tumours which, by their mere size and the mechanical obstruction they cause, destroy the organism out of which they are developed; while, finally, in those terrible structures known as cancers, the abnormal growth has acquired powers of reproduction and multiplication, and is only morphologically distinguishable from the parasitic worm, the life of which is neither more nor less closely bound up with that of the infested organism.

If there were a kind of diseased structure, the histological elements of which were capable of maintaining a separate and independent existence out of the body, it seems to me that the shadowy boundary between morbid growth and Xenogenesis would be effaced. And I am inclined to think that the progress of discovery has almost brought us to this point already. I have been favoured by Mr. Simon with an early copy of the last published of the valuable 'Reports on the Public Health,' which, in his capacity of their Medical Officer, he annually presents to the Lords of the Privy Council. The Appendix to this Report contains an introductory essay 'On the Intimate Pathology of Contagion,' by Dr. Burdon Sanderson, which is one of the clearest, most comprehensive, and well-reasoned discussions of a great question which has come under my notice for a long time. I refer you to it for details and for the authorities for the statements I am about to make.

You are familiar with what happens in vaccination. A minute cut is made in the skin, and an infinitesimal quantity of vaccine matter is inserted into the wound. Within a certain time, a vesicle appears in the place of the wound, and the fluid which distends this vesicle is vaccine matter, in quantity a hundred or a thousand-fold that which was originally inserted. Now what has taken place in the course of this operation? Has the vaccine matter by its irritative property produced a mere blister, the fluid of which has the same irritative property? Or does the vaccine matter contain living particles, which have grown and multiplied where they have been planted? The observations of M. Chauveau, extended and confirmed by Dr. Sanderson himself, appear to leave no doubt upon this head. Experiments, similar in principle to those of Helmholtz on fermentation and putrefaction, have proved that the active element in the vaccine lymph is non-diffusible, and consists of minute particles not exceeding $\frac{1}{250000}$ of an inch in diameter, which are made visible in the lymph by the microscope. Similar experiments have proved that two of the most destructive of epizootic diseases, sheep-pox and glanders, are also dependent for their existence and their propagation upon extremely small living solid particles, to which the title of *microzymes* is applied. An animal suffering under either of these terrible diseases is a source of infection and contagion to others, for precisely the same reason as a tub of fermenting beer is capable of propagating its fermentation by "infection," or "contagion," to fresh wort. In both cases it is the solid living particles which are efficient; the liquid in which they float, and at the expense of which they live, being altogether passive.

Now arises the question, are these microzymes the results of *Homogenesis*, or of *Xenogenesis*; are they capable, like the *Torula* of yeast, of arising only by the development of pre-existing germs; or may they be, like the constituents of a nut-gall, the results of a modification and individualization of the tissues of the body in which they are found, resulting from the operation of certain conditions?

Are they parasites in the zoological sense, or are they merely, what Virchow has called "heterologous growths"? It is obvious that this question has the most profound importance, whether we look at it from a practical, or from a theoretical, point of view. A parasite may be stamped out by destroying its germs, but a pathological product can only be annihilated by removing the conditions which give rise to it.

It appears to me that this great problem will have to be solved for each zymotic disease separately, for analogy cuts two ways. I have dwelt upon the analogy of pathological modification, which is in favour of the xenogenetic origin of microzymes; but I must now speak of the equally strong analogies in favour of the origin of such pestiferous particles by the ordinary process of the generation of like from like.

It is, at present, a well-established fact that certain diseases, both of plants and of animals, which have all the characters of contagious and infectious epidemics, are caused by minute organisms. The smut of wheat is a well-known instance of such a disease, and it cannot be doubted that the grape-disease and the potato-disease fall under the same category. Among animals, insects are wonderfully liable to the ravages of contagious and infectious diseases caused by microscopic Fungi.

In autumn, it is not uncommon to see flies, motionless, upon a window-pane, with a sort of magic circle, in white, drawn round them. On microscopic examination, the magic circle is found to consist of innumerable spores, which have been thrown off in all directions by a minute fungus called *Empusa musce*, the spore-forming filaments of which stand out like a pile of velvet from the body of the fly. These spore-forming filaments are connected with others, which fill the interior of the fly's body like so much fine wool, having eaten away and destroyed the creature's viscera. This is the full-grown condition of the *Empusa*. If traced back to its earlier stages, in flies which are still active, and to all appearance healthy, it is found to exist in the form of minute corpuscles which float in the blood of the fly. These multiply and lengthen into filaments, at the expense of the fly's substance; and when they have at last killed the patient, they grow out of its body and give off spores. Healthy flies shut up with diseased ones catch this mortal disease and perish like the others. A most competent observer, M. Cohn, who studied the development of the *Empusa* in the fly very carefully, was utterly unable to discover in what manner the smallest germs of the *Empusa* got into the fly. The spores could not be made to give rise to such germs by cultivation; nor were such germs discoverable in the air, or in the food of the fly. It looked exceedingly like a case of *Abiogenesis*, or, at any rate, of *Xenogenesis*; and it is only quite recently that the real course of events has been made out. It has been ascertained, that when one of the spores falls upon the body of a fly, it begins to germinate, and sends out a process which bores its way through the fly's skin; this, having reached the interior cavities of its body, gives off the minute floating corpuscles which are the earliest stage of the *Empusa*. The disease is "contagious," because a healthy fly coming in contact with a diseased one, from which the spore-bearing filaments protrude, is pretty sure to carry off a spore or two. It is "infectious" because the spores become scattered about all sorts of matter in the neighbourhood of the slain flies.

The silkworm has long been known to be subject to a very fatal contagious and infectious disease called the *Muscadine*. Andouin transmitted it by inoculation. This disease is entirely due to the development of a fungus, *Botrytis Bassiana*, in the body of the caterpillar; and its contagiousness and infectiousness are accounted for in the same way as those of the fly disease. But of late years a still more serious epizootic has appeared among the silkworms; and I may mention a few facts which will give you some conception of the gravity of the injury which it has inflicted on France alone.

The production of silk has been, for centuries, an important branch of industry in Southern

France, and in the year 1853 it had attained such a magnitude, that the annual produce of the French sericulture was estimated to amount to a tenth of that of the whole world, and represented a money value of 117,000,000 francs, or nearly five millions sterling. What may be the sum which would represent the money-value of all the industries connected with the working up of the raw silk thus produced, is more than I can pretend to estimate. Suffice it to say, that the City of Lyons is built upon French silk, as much as Manchester was upon American cotton before the civil war.

Silkworms are liable to many diseases; and even, before 1853, a peculiar epizootic, frequently accompanied by the appearance of dark spots upon the skin (whence the name of "Pébrine" which it has received), had been noted for its mortality. But in the years following 1853 this malady broke out with such extreme violence, that, in 1856, the silk-crop was reduced to a third of the amount which it had reached in 1853; and, up till within the last year or two, it has never attained half the yield of 1853. This means not only that the great number of people engaged in silk-growing are some thirty millions sterling poorer than they might have been; it means not only that high prices have had to be paid for imported silkworm-eggs, and that, after investing his money in them, in paying for mulberry-leaves and for attendance, the cultivator has constantly seen his silkworms perish and himself plunged in ruin,—but it means that the looms of Lyons have lacked employment, and that, for years, enforced idleness and misery have been the portion of a vast population which, in former days, was industrious and well to do.

In 1858 the gravity of the situation caused the French Academy of Sciences to appoint Commissioners, of whom a distinguished naturalist, M. de Quatrefages, was one, to inquire into the nature of this disease, and, if possible, to devise some means of staying the plague. In reading the Report (*Etudes sur les Maladies Actuelles des Vers à Soie*, p. 53) made by M. de Quatrefages, in 1859, it is exceedingly interesting to observe that his elaborate study of the *Pébrine* forced the conviction upon his mind that, in its mode of occurrence and propagation, the disease of the silkworm is, in every respect, comparable to the cholera among mankind. But it differs from the cholera, and, so far, is a more formidable disease, in being hereditary, and in being under some circumstances contagious, as well as infectious.

The Italian naturalist, Filippi, discovered in the blood of the silkworms affected by this strange disease, a multitude of cylindrical corpuscles, each about $\frac{1}{2000}$ of an inch long. These have been carefully studied by Lebert, and named by him *Panhistophyton*; for the reason that, in subjects in which the disease is strongly developed, the corpuscles swarm in every tissue and organ of the body, and even pass into the undeveloped eggs of the female moth. But are these corpuscles causes, or mere concomitants, of the disease? Some naturalists took one view and some another; and it was not until the French Government, alarmed by the continued ravages of the malady, and the inefficiency of the remedies which had been suggested, despatched M. Pasteur to study it, that the question received its final settlement; at a great sacrifice, not only of the time and peace of mind of that eminent philosopher, but, I regret to have to add, of his health.

But the sacrifice has not been in vain. It is now certain that this devastating, cholera-like, *Pébrine* is the effect of the growth and multiplication of the *Panhistophyton* in the silkworm. It is contagious and infectious because the corpuscles of the *Panhistophyton* pass away from the bodies of the diseased caterpillars, directly or indirectly, to the alimentary canal of healthy silkworms in their neighbourhood; it is hereditary, because the corpuscles enter into the eggs while they are being formed, and consequently are carried within them when they are laid; and for this reason, also, it presents the very singular peculiarity of being inherited only on the mother's side. There is not a single one of all the apparently capricious and un-

accountable phenomena presented by the Pébrine, but has received its explanation from the fact that the disease is the result of the presence of the microscopic organism, *Panhistophyton*.

Such being the facts with respect to the Pébrine, what are the indications as to the method of preventing it? It is obvious that this depends upon the way in which the *Panhistophyton* is generated. If it may be generated by Abiogenesis, or by Xenogenesis, within the silkworm or its moth, the extirpation of the disease must depend upon the prevention of the occurrence of the conditions under which this generation takes place. But if, on the other hand, the *Panhistophyton* is an independent organism, which is no more generated by the silkworm than the mistletoe is generated by the oak, or the apple-tree, on which it grows, though it may need the silkworm for its development, in the same way as the mistletoe needs the tree, then the indications are totally different. The sole thing to be done is to get rid of and keep away the germs of the *Panhistophyton*. As might be imagined, from the course of his previous investigations, M. Pasteur was led to believe that the latter was the right theory; and guided by that theory, he has devised a method of extirpating the disease, which has proved to be completely successful wherever it has been properly carried out.

There can be no reason, then, for doubting that, among insects, contagious and infectious diseases of great malignity are caused by minute organisms which are produced by pre-existing germs, or by Homogenesis; and there is no reason, that I know of, for believing that what happens in insects may not take place in the highest animals. Indeed, there is already strong evidence that some diseases of an extremely malignant and fatal character to which man is subject, are as much the work of minute organisms as is the Pébrine. I refer for this evidence to the very striking facts adduced by Prof. Lister in his various well-known publications on the antiseptic method of treatment. It seems to me impossible to rise from the perusal of those publications without a strong conviction that the lamentable mortality which so frequently dogs the footsteps of the most skilful operator, and those deadly consequences of wounds and injuries which seem to haunt the very walls of great hospitals, and are even now destroying more men than die of bullet or bayonet, are due to the importation of minute organisms into wounds, and their increase and multiplication; and that the surgeon who saves most lives will be he who best works out the practical consequences of the hypothesis of Redi.

I commenced this Address by asking you to follow me in an attempt to trace the path which has been followed by a scientific idea, in its long and slow progress from the position of a probable hypothesis to that of an established Law of Nature. Our survey has not taken us into very attractive regions; it has lain chiefly in a land flowing with the abominable, and peopled with mere grubs and mouldiness. And it may be imagined with what smiles and shrugs practical and serious contemporaries of Redi and of Spallanzani may have commented on the waste of their high abilities in toiling at the solution of problems which, though curious enough in themselves, could be of no conceivable utility to mankind.

Nevertheless, you will have observed that before we had travelled very far upon our road, there appeared, on the right hand and on the left, fields laden with a harvest of golden grain, immediately convertible into those things which the most sordidly practical of men will admit to have value,—namely, money and life.

The direct loss to France caused by the Pébrine in seventeen years cannot be estimated at less than fifty millions sterling; and if we add to this what Redi's idea, in Pasteur's hands, has done for the wine-grower and for the vinegar-maker, and try to capitalize its value, we shall find that it will go a long way towards repairing the money losses caused by the frightful and calamitous war of this autumn.

And as to the equivalent of Redi's thought in life, how can we over-estimate the value of that knowledge of the nature of epidemic and epizootic

diseases, and, consequently, of the means of checking or eradicating them, the dawn of which has assuredly commenced?

Looking back no further than ten years, it is possible to select three (1863, 1864 and 1869), in which the total number of deaths from scarlet fever alone amounted to 90,000. That is the return of killed, the maimed and disabled being left out of sight. Why, it is to be hoped that the list of killed in the present bloodiest of all wars will not amount to more than this! But the facts which I have placed before you must leave the least sanguine without a doubt that the nature and the causes of this scourge will one day be as well understood as those of the Pébrine are now; and that the long-suffered massacre of our innocents will come to an end.

And thus mankind will have one more admonition that the "people perish for lack of knowledge"; and that the alleviation of the miseries and the promotion of the welfare of men must be sought, by those who will not lose their pains, in that diligent, patient, loving study of all the multitudinous aspects of Nature, the results of which constitute exact knowledge, or Science.

It is the justification and the glory of this great Meeting that it is gathered together for no other object than the advancement of the moiety of Science which deals with those phenomena of Nature which we call Physical. May its endeavours be crowned with a full measure of success!

Thanks were moved by the Earl of Derby, and seconded by the Mayor, and carried, in Liverpool fashion, by three cheers—an unusual one for the Association's proceedings.

LOSS OF THE CAPTAIN.

PERHAPS the most melancholy features attaching to the loss of the Captain come out when the loss of the vessel is regarded from an engineering point of view. There seems no doubt, from the evidence of the few who happily survived to bring home the terrible lesson, that the armed monster actually capsized in open sea,—turned over like a turtle, and went down, the coffin of all on board. For this, we must distinctly say there can be no excuse. A clear neglect of mechanical law is proven by the catastrophe; and what is still more striking is, that the Captain was actually safer, as against the actual cause of her destruction, than she was designed to be. She sat lower in the water than was expected by her constructors; that is to say, not only was her displacement different from that calculated, but her free-board, and consequently her centre of gravity, were lower than was designed; but it was the position of the centre of gravity with regard to the line of flotation that caused her to capsize.

With the armed bulwarks, thickly-plated turrets and hurricane deck of the Captain, although the actual height of the exposed portion, compared to her draught, was less than in the old model of vessels, the main weight of the structure was out of the water. If the rolling of the ship in a sea should be such as to throw the centre of gravity beyond a line easily to be ascertained upon paper, the ill-balanced mass would be certain to capsize. The Admiralty ought to have been made aware that the lines of the Captain were such as to subject her to this certain peril, with a given amount of roll,—not by the harsh lesson of experience, but by the previous report of a competent consulting engineer. The late Isambard Brunel was consulted by the Admiralty in this capacity, which only such an independent scientific and practical man could fill. With such an adviser such a catastrophe ought to have been simply impossible. Accident it cannot strictly be called. It is not like a vessel striking on a reef, or being overwhelmed by a sudden squall, or shipping a sea (to which we were at first inclined to attribute the loss), or starting a plank. It was an occurrence not without a precedent—that of the *Affondatore*, in the Italian waters; but we have failed ever to get at the bottom of that disaster, or to learn how it occurred. Now we can have no doubt. It oc-

curred through neglect of a statical law in a hydrostatical case.

Long and fierce fighting has gone on as to naval construction. In a matter so new and so important, it is well that scientific men should have ample margin. The Chief Constructor of the Navy took his place by storm, so to speak, by his mechanical skill. Capt. Cowper Coles devoted many years to perfecting his valuable invention. That men like these should have fair play, and be allowed to superintend the details of their own vessels, is no more than right; but above, or rather under, all—apart from questions of seamanship, of artillery, of speed, or of any of the various requirements of a new ship—should lie the sagacity of an engineer—responsible in case of the clear violation of mechanical laws.

FINE ARTS

GUSTAVE DORÉ.—DORÉ GALLERY, 35, New Bond Street.—EXHIBITION OF PICTURES, including 'Christian Martyrs,' 'Monastery,' 'Triumph of Christianity,' 'Francesca de Rimini,' at the New Gallery.—OPEN from Ten till Six.—Admission, 1s.

BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Hereford, Sept. 12, 1870.
DURING the past week, that now well-known body, the British Archaeological Association, has been holding its twenty-seventh annual meeting, or congress, in the ancient city of Hereford, and with a decided success. It would be difficult indeed to name a spot more attractive by its historical associations than this fair town; and when we unite this with the magnificent and at the same time lovely scenery which surrounds it on every side, it will be well understood the Association had chosen with good reason its place of assemblage. Though, perhaps, not quite so great as some of those which have preceded it, the number of persons who attended was above the average, and contained many of the oldest and most distinguished members of the Association, and the greatest interest was shown in its labours by the gentry of the city and county. The Association was especially fortunate in its President, Chandos Wren Hoskyns, Esq., M.P. for the city, who displayed a personal talent and genial zeal for his subject, which added greatly to the enjoyments of the week. His introductory address formed a pleasing and eloquent sketch of the special character of antiquarian and historical interest that belongs to the border-land which separates Wales from England, and which has been so often fought over by successive races, Romans and Silurians, Mercians and Britons, Danes and Saxons, Welshmen and Normans, since its history began. Monuments of the labours of all these peoples and periods lie thickly scattered along it from one end to the other. Primeval earthworks and stone monuments are found here and there; memorials of the Romans are seen in still greater magnitude in the remains so long buried under the soil of the great Roman city of Uriconium (at Wroxeter, in Shropshire); and of the somewhat less extensive towns of Magna and Uriconium (at Kenchester, and Weston-under-Penyard, in Herefordshire). The ages of feudalism have left us memorials in a multitude of border castles and monastic edifices, now more or less in ruin, but grand in their decadence. Hereford itself is a fine and most interesting city. Its cathedral rises over the burial-place of the sainted Ethelbert, King of the East Angles. This prince was sacrificed to the ambition of the Mercian King Offa, it is understood by the hand of his Queen, and people point to that remarkable and imposing earthwork near Hereford, known as Sutton Walls, as the scene of the murder. The body was at first buried secretly, but it was subsequently taken up from its temporary resting-place, and interred more ceremoniously on the banks of the river, in a field covered with fern, where a church was built over it, which afterwards expanded into Hereford Cathedral. The first day of the meeting of the archaeologists (Monday, September the 5th,) was devoted especially to the

city, the more interesting points of which were visited, under the guidance of Messrs. Flavell Edmunds and F. R. Kempson, gentlemen of the city, especially well acquainted with its antiquities and the objects of historical interest. The first of these visited was the Barton Gate, in St. Nicholas Street, the scene of a celebrated stratagem in the great civil war of the seventeenth century, by which the Parliamentarian forces under Col. Birch made themselves masters of the city. The Royalist governor of Hereford had issued a mandate to the country immediately adjacent to send in men to repair the fortifications of the castle, and Col. Birch sent in, as if in obedience to this mandate, a waggon laden with hay. The guards opened the gate, but the waggon was no sooner within the gateway, than it was overthrown by those who conducted it, which effectually prevented the gate from being closed. A body of armed men then arose from beneath the hay, and obtained possession of the gateway, and thus let in the troops of the Parliament, who soon made themselves masters of the town. This gate was also memorable for another remarkable historical event. Outside the gateway was beheaded Owen Tudor, who was taken prisoner by the Yorkists at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and brought thence to Hereford. The visitors were next shown the site of the Northern, or Widemarsh, Gate, which was, during the civil war, the scene of a severe encounter between the Royalist garrison and the Parliamentarian besiegers, in which the latter were defeated. Next was visited one of the bastions of the city wall, situated in Blue-school Street, which still bore marks of the cannonade of the besiegers at this period. They then proceeded to Coningsby's Hospital,—which was erected, under the reign of James the First, out of the house first belonging to the Templars, and afterwards to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem,—which had been granted to the Coningsby family, who then lived at Hampton Court in this county, by Queen Elizabeth. The Coningsby Hospital was intended as a place of refuge for decayed servants and soldiers. This part of the town also had its history, for it was from hence that Prince Edward, afterwards Edward the First, who had been in custody here after the battle of Lewes, in the Baronial wars, in the middle of the thirteenth century, made his escape, and reached Wigmore Castle, the head seat of the Mortimers, an event which led to the battle of Evesham, and the defeat of the Baronial cause. Mr. Edmunds next led the party to the remains of the church of the Dominican Monastery, which had also been granted to the Coningsbys, who made it their town-house in Hereford. The present owner, Mr. Arkwright, of Hampton Court, had uncovered this ruin from some modern additions, and exposed it to view in a much more satisfactory manner than that in which it had been seen before. This ruin became the subject of a rather lengthy discussion among the archaeologists, who next visited All Saints' Church, remarkable for its fine carved stalls of oak, and for the open-timbered roof of the north aisle,—St. Peter's Church was also visited, and both furnished matter for considerable discussion to the archaeologists, who separated on leaving the latter to assemble again at the Green Dragon Hotel, at the inaugural dinner of the meeting, where toasts were proposed in appropriate speeches by the President, Mr. W. H. Black, Mr. Roberts, Mr. George Godwin, Mr. Gordon M. Hills, and others.

We shall continue our report in our next number.

A LETTER FROM JERUSALEM.

SOME years ago, in building the new church and convent, under the auspices of M. Ratisbon, it became known that a double vault had been discovered in preparing the foundations. The authorities of the town at the time took but little or no notice of this. This season, however, in the search for water, a shaft sunk near the Governor's house opened in two subways running side by side from the Haram area to the North; on pursuing these they were found to run under the new Latin buildings. They were immediately recognized as ancient water-ways, although, owing to the accumulation

of rubbish, the springs were nearly choked up. Part of the rubbish was of accidental origin, but the most considerable portion had been shot down from the convent, with the evident intention of filling up this interesting relic of the ancient city; the circumstances would scarcely allow of delay, and the Pasha therefore ordered the rubbish to be carried away. The convent authorities interposed with the representation that, as their property, the place ought to remain untouched. The Pasha pleaded that reservoirs and springs made for the public good originally could never be in private possession, that the terms of land sale did not by the laws of the city allow such to pass away from the public; and he proceeded with his useful work. Telegrams to and from Paris and Constantinople were despatched and received, all clashing with one another, but the work still proceeded. At this crisis the French Consul in full uniform descended to the vaults, and authoritatively demanded the evacuation of the subways. The workpeople, it appears, treated this and the formal declaration in the name of the French Emperor that the land was part of France, and only abandoned temporarily under the pressure of force, with scanty respect. Immediately afterwards the nuns removed, with all the children under their care, to another building at a distance, representing themselves as unsafe from the workpeople engaged, and the house in danger from the removal of the rubbish from the rock-hewn and arched tunnels. To exhibit the sincerity of this opinion props were placed against all the walls of the building in all directions. The quarrel at last reached such dimensions that a special commissioner from France and another from Constantinople, together with the Grand Pasha from Damascus, have been sent to settle the matter on the spot. There is but little doubt the French influence will carry the point for the Latins, and so deprive the town of the blessing of a grand reserve of water, and disappoint the hopes of antiquaries who had watched the progress of the clearing-out with the expectation that another link would be given to the meagre evidence existing as to the ancient topography of Jerusalem. The double aqueduct is of the best character as masonry, although nothing has yet been discovered to decide its date. The span of the archways is about equal to that of the Thames Tunnel, to which in its double way the tunnel has a strong resemblance. The arches are in parts slightly pointed, but not more than enough to permit transition into the rounded form; about six or seven feet, perhaps more, from the original base are large openings from one to the other, to allow a superabundance of water to flow in or out; the blocks of stone used average about two or three feet; these being in as good a state of preservation as though the masonry had been finished but yesterday; these tunnels end to the south in a mass of native rock short of the Haram area, with, however, at the side of one an excavated channel, large enough for a man, said to lead to Siloam. The workmen speak of a third and fourth tunnel running parallel on the eastern side, but further south, to the Mosque itself. These, however, cannot yet be seen by the Frankish visitor.

Fine-Art Gossip.

It was good news for those who love Art that the treasures of the Louvre have been removed from Paris to a place of safety, the whereabouts of which has been kept secret. There can be no impropriety in wishing that the English Government, or, say, the ever-energetic Mr. Henry Cole, had borrowed for the time as many of the most precious pictures in question as could be accommodated at South Kensington.

WE have for some time past watched the controversy between Messrs. Freeman and other writers respecting the alleged destruction or serious endangering, and the conservation or perfect safety, of the famous group of stones on Bodmin Moors, Cornwall, which constitute the Cheesewring. It was stated that Messrs. Freeman, whose quarry had approached the stones in question so nearly as

to threaten their downfall, had thereby shown unwarrantable greediness, and deprived the country of a curious object. The dealers in granite replied, that the reverse was the case; that all who knew anything of the subject must be assured accordingly, and that they were fully aware of the interest of the stones; also that certain props which had been objected to were necessary to preserve part of the group from the mischievous proceedings of visitors. The last note on the subject appears in *The Cornish Telegraph* of the 7th inst., to the effect that, according to Mr. T. L. Couch, the group "is past all efforts to save it." "I visited it a few days since, but would advise no one to go a mile out of the way to see it. The granite works have already reached within 40 feet of it, and the memorable pile is already spoiled, and it would now be a small matter of regret if it were overthrown. The Cheesewring is now propped up by the insertion of granite blocks and iron bolts, to keep it from falling, and for a short time longer to spare those concerned from public execration."

HEER C. MAYER, the engraver, has died at Vienna.

WE have received from Messrs. Deighton, Bell & Co. (Cambridge) an essay on 'The Religious Influence of Art,' by Mr. E. Carpenter, Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. To this essay the Burney Prize was awarded in 1869. We are, of course, called on to judge such a work as this by its own standard. We should look for, first, earnestness in the author; next, to his care to familiarize himself with the nature and principles of the art in question; but chiefly, in this peculiar case, to his acumen in discriminating the nature and modes of the religious influence of Art. A writer on such a theme need not be informed on æsthetic subjects: even the history of Art need not be known to him, further than may be required to master the true bearings of a large course of examples of the influence of Art—i.e. music, painting, sculpture, and architecture—upon the hearts and minds of men. Mr. Carpenter does not pretend to knowledge of technical art, and is well qualified as an observer and student to deal with the subject which fell to his lot. The introductory portion of his work flies rather above the necessities of prose, and we confess to have been unable to make out what the author means, and are by no means sure that he is invariably better informed about this part of his essay; he, however, improves on progressing: in the third chapter, although his strain is still somewhat exalted, we find many noble conclusions, logically attained and expressed with eloquence, which is never obscured; we find rare taste wisely employed, a thorough perception of the religious influence of Art, and, what are not less desirable, some good suggestions for its development. Altogether, this book is far more valuable than most prize essays.

MUSIC

Musical Gossip.

THE obituary of last week records the recent death, at Leicester, of Mr. Alfred Nicholson, aged forty-eight, after his having for some years been withdrawn from public duty by a wearing and hopeless illness. The choice of his instrument—the oboe—is one which may be said to limit the player to orchestral or concerted performances; but in these the excellence and value of Mr. Nicholson were well known, and honourable to his master, M. Barret. As a man, he was of a genial nature,—one who cherished refined tastes and fancies, besides those of his own art:—in brief, belonging to the company of contemporary English players, who, so far as manners and culture are concerned, have most acceptably replaced those of the preceding generation in this country. The sufferings of his last years were kindly ministered to, and, as far as possible, alleviated by his friends and comrades in art. But this was no exception to a well-known rule. The unobtrusive kindness and liberality of musician to brother musician, in the hours of trial and decay, cannot be over-estimated, and should never

be forgotten by those protesting against the ascetics, happily diminishing in number, who have been used to decry a gracious and lovely art as one which necessarily demoralizes its professors.

MR. MAPLESON, late partner with Mr. Gye in the Covent Garden Italian Opera-House, is now on a tour in the provinces, with a company for concerts and Italian Opera. After visiting Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, &c., the *troupe* will have a month's season at Covent Garden in November.

MDLLE. NILSSON, accompanied by Herr Maurice Strakosch (who, with his brother, Max Strakosch, are the speculators in the Transatlantic tour of the Swedish songstress), and by Mr. Jarrett, her agent (late acting manager of the Drury Lane Italian Opera), have by this time reached New York.

THERE is reason to hope that Cherubini's 'Les Deux Journées,' its composer's master-work for the stage, and one of the most sterling and effective operas existing, will shortly be produced, in an English dress, at the Gaiety Theatre, with Mr. Santley in the character of the Water-Carrier. Every real lover of art will feel such a healthy work, carefully presented, a relief after the worn-out sentimentalities of 'La Sonnambula' and the purring pathos of 'La Traviata.' In the native country of Cherubini, the opera is now virtually unknown; in Paris, for which city it was produced, it is as much forgotten as its composer's less accessible 'Medea,' happily given to our stage, thanks to Mdle. Tietjens; but in Germany, especially in South Germany, it has never ceased to keep its place as a stock piece. The music bears no more traces of age, or rather of mode, than the music of Gluck's operas and Beethoven's one opera.

THE farewell tour in the chief towns of the United Kingdom of Signor Mario has commenced. He is accompanied by Signor Sivori, the violinist, —and the Chevalier De Kontski, the pianist,—and Fräulein Liebhart and Mdle. Enriques, vocalists.

SIR MICHAEL COSTA'S new German national hymn, 'All Honour to the King,' composed expressly for the King of Prussia, and first performed in Berlin in presence of the royal family in 1868, has been published simultaneously in Berlin, Leipzig and London.

"In continuation of what has been said on former occasions of the excellent music at Scarborough" (writes a Correspondent), "a passing mention should be made of the reproduction of some secular marches, minuets, gavottes and curtain-tunes of Handel, the stately and sublime. The freshness, vigour and variety of this music is, of course, known to all who have studied the works of the master; but that they have fallen, like a pleasant surprise, on those who only know Handel by a few of his oratorios, is evidenced by the attention and applause with which the selection is received whenever it takes its turn among the lighter works of the modern school."

The Italian Opera Company opened at Dublin on Monday, with 'Lucrezia Borgia,' to a thin house.

THE husband of Madame Pauline Lucca, the Baron von Rahden, is not dead, as reported recently. He was severely wounded, but hopes are entertained of his recovery. The Berlin *prima donna* visited the head-quarters of the German army in France when she received the news of the Baron's wound. He will be removed to his residence in the Victoria Strasse, in Berlin, as soon as possible. The Baron von Rahden is the nephew of the distinguished engineer officer of that name, who was in the Carlist campaign in Spain of 1837 with Prince Liechnowski (grandson of Beethoven's friend), who was so cruelly assassinated in Frankfort in 1848.

THE Bonn Beethoven Festival is fixed to take place in the spring of 1871, should there be peace.

DRAMA

NEW ROYALTY THEATRE.

THE New Royalty Theatre re-opened last week, under the management of Miss Hodson, formerly

of the Queen's, with Mr. Craven's domestic drama, 'Our Nelly,' and with a new burlesque by Mr. Burnand. Like most of Mr. Craven's pieces, 'Our Nelly' borders too closely on farce. Characters, situations, incidents, and dialogue all show how powerless is the author to resist the temptation, at any expense, to provoke a laugh. Of the many clever and amusing pieces Mr. Craven has written, not one, for this reason, is likely to retain its place upon the stage, and not one is entitled to rank as a work of art. 'Our Nelly,' first played seventeen years ago, at the Surrey, has a commonplace, though rather whimsical, plot, and depends principally for popularity upon the representation of the eccentricities of a Yorkshire lout, first impersonated by Mr. Craven himself. This character, at the New Royalty, was enacted by Mr. A. Wood, who succeeded in catching fairly Mr. Craven's appearance and manner. Its heroine was vivaciously presented by Miss Rachel Sanger. The entire performance was successful, though some of the more extravagant scenes provoked a measure of deserved hostility. Following 'Our Nelly' came a burlesque, upon which Mr. Burnand has bestowed the insufferably vulgar title of 'F.M. Julius Cnesar.' From the worst defects of burlesque this production is free. It presents no breakdowns or music-hall absurdities, and no man travestied as a woman. It is, however, so long and so dull that it may fairly be doubted if a piece equally wearisome has ever been placed upon the stage. Judging by his productions in burlesque, Mr. Burnand aspires to a niche, which cannot be refused him, in the Temple of Dullness. The only difficulty in assigning him a place in a new 'Dunciad,' should such ever be produced, is that 'Gentle dullness ever loves a joke,' and Mr. Burnand seems insensible of the meaning of the word. Surely no other man can be found to think comic the dismal title he has bestowed upon his piece, or to see merit in the tiresome, meaningless, and long-drawn production he has christened a burlesque. We will not pillory the actors by mentioning their names in connexion with it.

STRAND THEATRE.

A BURLESQUE, entitled 'The Idle Prentice,' was produced at the Strand Theatre on Saturday night. It is from the pen of Mr. H. B. Farnie. Hogarth's celebrated pictures supply the idea of the story, and M. Hervé's 'Petit Faust' the treatment and the greater portion of the music. The whole is preposterously long. The scenes in it which were best acted and most successful were those which the author had taken bodily from M. Hervé's work, and in which the actors copied most closely the manners and behaviour of their French predecessors.

The acting of Misses Bufton, Bella Goodall, and Jenny Lee was spirited. Mr. H. Paulton, who played a policeman, made a favourable *début*, showing some talent in a class of performance in which our stage is already sufficiently rich.

Dramatic Gossip.

A "new and original" drama, by Mr. Towers, has been played at the East London Theatre, with the title of 'The Fatal Marriage.' It is every whit as original as such productions usually are, and gives to such materials as stolen children, murders, and abductions, a tolerably new and fresh appearance.

THE Lyceum Theatre will re-open this evening with a new drama by Mr. Falconer; and Sadler's Wells with 'Hamlet.' Other theatres, including Drury Lane, will recommence performances during the coming week. Among novelties to be shortly expected is a comedy by Mr. Arthur Sketchley, to be played at the Strand.

GAY'S 'Beggars' Opera' was produced at the Gaiety Theatre on Thursday last.

FOR the first time in Paris since theatres were permanently established, there has been a complete cessation of dramatic performances. Whilst the

Revolution was progressing, the tragedies of Marie Joseph Chénier and Arnault *père* were performed; and while the Reign of Terror deluged the streets of Paris with blood, pastoral dramas recording the lives and quarrels of Corydon and Amoret divided the public favour with republican idylls celebrating the triumphs of the new régime, the marriage of priests, and other novelties. Napoleon went to the campaign which ended at Waterloo while the 'Triomphe de Trajan' was being performed; and the entry for the second time of the Allies into Paris was celebrated by the production of 'Le Roi et la Ligue.' Subsequently, neither defeat nor revolution was able to check the vogue of dramatic performances. Not the least curious feature of the present struggle is the fact that theatrical entertainments have been stopped by authority; and that even before the interference of the law, public opinion had brought about their cessation. With the end of theatrical performances comes of course a stoppage of the journals wholly, or in a great measure, devoted to the drama.

A NEW comedy is announced from the pen of Signor Achille Montignani, entitled 'La Contessa di Camporeale,' written expressly for Signora Pezzana, whose talented and powerful impersonation of Fernande, in M. Sardou's play, was lately a great success at the Rossini Theatre in Venice.

AMONGST the dramatic works recently published in Italy we note: an historical drama by Signor G. A. Rocca, entitled 'Carlo Emanuele, il grande Duca di Savoia'; a new tragedy, 'Adriana da Castiglione' (Palermo, Pedone Lauriel), by Signor Antonio de Marchi; 'Lucrezia Borgia,' a comedy (!) in one act, by Signor Benedetto Prado; a dramatic trilogy 'Arduino,' by Signor Giovanni Bestonzo; and 'Le Fanciulle da Marito,' a comedy in four acts, by Signor A. Nescio.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES.

"Byrde" for "Bryde."—The note by Mr. Brae (*Athen.* Sept. 3, 1870) that for *byrde* we ought to read *bryde*, in Chaucer's 'Romaunt of the Rose,' is unnecessary. The meaning clearly is, as Mr. Brae rightly says, *bride*. But that is why the spelling should not be altered, for the Old English spelling of *bride* is commonly *burde*, as in 'Layamon,' line 19271; 'William of Palerne,' lines 683, 765, 812, &c.; or *birde*, as in 'Piers Plowman,' ed. Skeat, iii., 14. See also 'Gawayn and the Grene Knight,' lines 613, 752, &c. In fact, it is so common that I have already found nearly fifty instances; and surely most of your readers have heard of the ballad of 'Burd Helen,' the said Helen being not a *bird*, but a *girl*. On the other hand, the Old English for a *bird* is *brīd*, as every one knows who has read Chaucer, or any of our old poets, with attention. It is, therefore, precisely because the meaning is *bride* that we must retain the reading *byrde*. It may be proper to add, that the Old English *byrde* does not always mean a *married*, but rather a *marriageable*, female. Instances of this curious shifting of the letter *r* are not uncommon. The old word *brast* means *burst*; to *bren* is to *burn*, whence the word *brynstone*, or burning-stone, now spelt *brimstone*. Hence also the Anglo-Saxon *yrnan* is the German *rennen*, and the English *run*; the Anglo-Saxon *hors*, English *horse*, is the Icelandic *hross* and the German *ross*; the Old English *kerse* is the modern *cress*, and "I don't care a *cress*" is a mere corruption for "I don't care a *straw*." Hence the Old English *byrde* should not, as a rule, be translated *bird*, though I regret to say that this translation is found in the 'Morte Arthure,' ed. Perry, line 1029, side-note; though in line 999, the editor has caught the true sense.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—N. C.—J. W. W.—C. J.—H. G. H.—G. St. C.—E. L. H.—Dr. H. B.—W. U. W.—J. T.—J. E. B.—S. J. B.—received.

*. No notice can be taken of anonymous communications.

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